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LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD:

INDO-PACIFIC FASCICLE TWO

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**LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD:
INDO-PACIFIC FASCICLE TWO**

C.F. and F.M. Voegelin

Indiana University

- 2.1. Unified list of Polynesian language names**
- 2.2. Typology of contrasts in sound systems**
- 2.3. Hawaiian pidgin and mother tongue**
- 2.4. Rarotongan**
- 2.5. Maori, and the language situation in New Zealand**
- 2.6. Tongan**
- 2.7. Samoan**

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2.1. In order to obtain a unified list of all names cited in various contexts in Indo-Pacific Fascicle One (1.2) - unified by some one principle of relationship - we take the list of Polynesian languages prepared by Dyen (1963) and add to it language and dialect names which are geographically closest to the name given by Dyen.

This, to be sure, combines the probability (1) that geographic contiguity will generally serve as a guide to closer subrelationships, with (2) the evidence of percentages of shared basic vocabulary used by Dyen for estimating relative closeness of subrelationships. (Other kinds of evidence are not reflected in the following list, but are discussed in the following sections of this chapter (2.2ff)).

The presumption or assumption in respect to the unified list is that where a close subrelationship is found by lexicostatistics between two languages (A and B), a third language, if spoken in the same archipelago, for example, will be closer to languages A and B than to languages spoken in some other archipelago. This presumption holds only for islands within the Polynesian triangle, and certainly not for Polynesian Outliers spoken on islands in Melanesia or Micronesia. Other evidence is needed for estimating their subrelationships.

The higher order classification of the place of the Polynesian branch ('subfamily') in the Austronesian family is described in Indo-Pacific Fascicle One (1.5). The following arrangement of our unified Polynesian language list reflects subclassification within the Polynesian branch alone.

1. West Polynesian Cluster

1. Tongic Hesion

1. Tongan (Tonga-Uvea)

2. Niue

2. Ellicean Hesion

1. Ellice
2. Tikopia (Tikopia-Anuta-Fakata)
3. Ontong Java (Luangiua, Leuangiua), 782 speakers on Ontong Java (Lord Howe), in north central Solomons
4. Mele-Fila, 600 speakers on Fila Island in Vila Harbor and adjacent mainland of Efate Island, southern New Hebrides
3. Rennell (Mugaba, Mungava)-Bellona (Munggiki), 1,008 speakers on Rennell, 587 speakers on Bellona, in southern Solomons
4. Samoan
5. Pileni (Pilheni)-Nukapu-Nifiloli--Matema-Nupani-Duff (together also called Reef Island), 709 speakers on Duff Islands (220 speakers) and on some of the Reef (Swallow) Islands (Matema 45 speakers, Nupani and Nalogo 147, Nukapu 61, Pileni 134, Nifiloli (Nifilole) 102), in the Santa Cruz Archipelago. (This is not the same language as the Nifiloli spoken on the Main Reef Islands, a Papuan language mistakenly named after the Nifiloli Polynesian Outlier island on which it was first collected.)
6. Futuna (West Futuna)-Aniwa spoken on Aniwa (214 speakers) and Futuna Islands, east of Tanna Islands, southern New Hebrides.

There are two or three additional Polynesian Outlier languages which would seem to belong to the West Polynesian Cluster: Mac (Ezæ) with some 80 speakers on Sesæke (Three Hills) Island in the central New Hebrides; the following -- Taku (Taʔu, Tauu) spoken on Mortlock Island in the northern Solomons, Nukuria with less than 100 speakers on Nukuria Island east of New Ireland, and Nukumanu spoken in the northern Solomons -- are reported to be the same language,

(or very closely related) and may or may not be the same language as Sikayana with 200 speakers in the central Solomons, which is reported to be closely related. Also, the Outlier Uvea in the Loyalty Islands is probably the same language as Uvea within the Polynesian triangle (classified as a dialect of Tonga above) and the Futuna within the Polynesian triangle is probably the same language as the Outlier Futuna-Aniwa (West Futuna) listed above.

2. East Polynesian Hesion

1. Rarotongan (Mitiaro-Mauke-Atiu-Mangaia-Rarotonga-Aitutaki-Tongareva (Penrhyn): these are islands in the Cooks; a speaker's dialect can be identified according to his natal island)
2. Hawaiian
3. Easter Island (Rapanui - many Spanish-Rapanui bilinguals)
4. Marquesan (many Marquesan-Tahitian-French trilinguals)
5. Tahitian (many French-Tahitian bilinguals)
6. Mangareva
7. Tuamotu (Paumotu) (many Paumotu-Tahitian-French trilinguals)
3. Maori (with dialects of South Island, N.Z., and Moriori of Chathams now extinct)
4. Kapingamarangi
5. Nukuoro

2.2. In giving the phonemic contrasts made by the various Polynesian languages and dialects listed above, differences turn out to be entirely among the consonants. All vowel systems throughout Polynesia proper, as well as all vowel systems of Polynesian Outlier languages are typologically the same. The vowel type shared by all is also the most common of all vowel types in the world generally -- it is the five vowel system in which a front

(F) vowel contrasts with the back (B) vowel not only at high tongue height, /i u/, but also at mid tongue height, /e o/; and these four vowels making F-B contrast at two tongue heights--or 2 (FB) in formula--are all higher than a low vowel. The low vowel, /a/, is neutral or non-contrastive--hence N in formula--in respect to the two front-back contrasts. The Polynesian vowel type is, accordingly, 2(FB) over N.

This is stated as a typological fact because in other respects, there may be some differences among the vowels of Polynesian languages. For example, the functional load of the vowels may differ (since reflexes of Elbert's reconstructed *O and *A differ in the daughter languages); the vowels may be combined in different sequences of two vowels (diphthongs), three vowels (triphthongs), or longer sequences; they may differ in the way stress is predictable--e.g. one way in Hawaiian, according to Pukui and Elbert (1957), and in another way in Maori according to Hohepa (in press). But both analyses agree that stress is not phonemic.

Typologically, however, the 2(FB) over N vowel system is not only found in one stress type in which stress is never contrastive, but also in another in which stress is phonemic, as it is in English (e.g. the noun pervert has stress on the first syllable and thereby contrasts with the verb, to pervert, where stress is on the second syllable). In Tongan, stress is analyzed as phonemic by Norton (in press), and possibly so analyzed for Samoan by Pawley (in press). Though this suggests that one might look for a stress type vowel system in Western Polynesia, and another type of vowel system in Eastern Polynesia in which stress is not contrastive, as soon as one begins looking one finds that stress is analyzed as contrastive for an Eastern Polynesian language also--Maori, by Biggs (1961). But as already mentioned, rules for

predicting stress have been more recently worked out for Maori by Hohepa (in press). This is not merely a Polynesian problem but a much wider problem that concerns most Austronesian languages in all the traditional areas; in more than one language of Indonesia, for example, stress appears to be partially predictable and partially not, and might therefore be analyzed as phonemic until the rules for predicting all occurrences of stress are found for a particular language.

The law of implication which says that languages which make contrasts in vowel length do not make contrasts in stress—whether or not true universally—is interesting in this context. All Polynesian languages contrast short vowels and long vowels (and the latter are analyzed by some as a sequence of two identical vowels, /aa/ etc., and by others as vowels of the 2(FB) over N vowel type combined with a series generating component (SGC) of length: /i· u·/ and /e· o·/ and /a·/.

The vowel systems in all of Polynesia are typologically 2(FB) over N with SGC of length, with stress generally predictable and hence not phonemic, although stress contrasts of some kind may turn out to be justified in Tongan.

For consonants, there are differences among Polynesian languages. We begin, first, with a description of the consonant systems according to the order of listing Polynesian languages above (2.1), and then, secondly, group the Polynesian languages according to their consonant types, irrespective of the subrelationship of the languages postulated on the basis of common basic vocabulary (2.1, above).

For Tongan, Grace (1959) gives the same unit consonants as Morton (in press), minus one, namely /s/. But Morton has found a minimum pair to guarantee the inclusion of /s/ among the consonants which are here listed in chart form:

p	t	k	ʔ
f	s		h
v			
m	n	ŋ	
	l		

The following list gives some attesting forms for supporting the contrast of /t/ versus /s/ versus /f/:

/too/	<u>to plant</u>
/soo/	<u>sweetheart</u>
/noo/	<u>to borrow</u>
/foo/	<u>wash</u>
/tii/	<u>tea</u>
/sii/	<u>to cast</u>
/miti/	<u>a bird</u>
/misi/	<u>hissing noise</u>

The rule that Grace gives is that Tongan /t/ is [s] before /i/, but Morton's subsequent observations show that this rule is not always operative.

The Uvean consonants, as given by Grace (op.cit.), are the same as those which he gives for Tongan. So also, Grace distinguishes the same consonants for a dialect which may be called Polynesian-triangle-Futuna. And both this Futuna and Uvea are indeed Tongan satellites, even though the islands of Uvea and Futuna—not to mention Niua Foʻou—are closer to Samoa than to Tonga. In Western Polynesia, however, the Tongans were politically dominant, and possibly did more colonizing than did Samoans who do not always trust their effective Tongan neighbors. In Samoan, the word for treachery (toʻafiti) means literally the Tongans and Fijians. The dialect speakers of

Niua Foʻou were removed from the island of that name in 1946, when a large volcano erupted, and are relocated on Tongatabu.

For Niue, Grace (op. cit.) gives the following consonants:

p	t	k
f		h
v		
m	n	ŋ
	l	

We have excerpts on all of the four languages listed under the 'Ellicean Dialects' (2.1)—from Grace (op.cit.) for Ellice Islands and Tikopia, and Fila (Mele-Fila), and from Hoggan (1928-30) as well as from Grace for Ongtong Java (Luangiua).

Ellice Islands:

p	t	k
f	s	
v		
m	n	ŋ
	l	

Tikopian:

p	t	k
f	s	
v		
m	n	ŋ
	r	

Fila (Mele-Fila):

p	t	k
---	---	---

f		s	
v			
m		n	ŋ
		r	

Ongtong Java (Luangia):

p		k	ʔ
v		s	h
m		ŋ	
		l	

For Samoan, we have several sources; these sources always include the inventory that represents the most common consonant distinctions (i.e. distinctions made in casual utterances):

p		ʔ
f		s
v		
m		ŋ
		l

However, one cannot say conversely that the coexisting system of Samoan consonants is followed in all non-casual utterances. The situation is more complex than that; it is well described by J. E. Buse: Two Samoan Ceremonial Speeches, School of Oriental and African Studies Bulletin 24 (1961):

"Both speeches form part of a house-building ceremony known in Tutuila as - le usuga i le fale - (the visitation of the house), which commemorates the building by a matai (head of a family group) of a round-house (fale tele). The fale tele is used mainly as a meeting place for the village council and for the entertainment of travelling parties (malaga) from other villages...

"A Samoan who builds his village a fale tele is making a major contribution to their prestige, and the usuga ceremony is held as a mark of gratitude and respect.

"The village orator's speech was given in what may be termed the dental style (DS), the owner's reply in what we may call the velar style (VS). VS is the everyday colloquial medium. DS is used in contact with Europeans and in singing.

"Two of the DS consonants, [t] and [n], are replaced in VS by [k] and [ŋ]. Note, however, that [k] and [ŋ] occur also in DS, though [k] probably only in loan words.

DS	sata	}	<u>any of his</u>	saka	}	<u>to boil</u>
VS	saka			saka		
DS	una	}	<u>scale of a fish</u>	uŋa	}	<u>hermit crab</u>
VS	uŋa			uŋa		

Stops: DS: /p/ /t/ /k/ /ʔ/

VS: /p/ /k/ /ʔ/

Nasals: DS: /m/ /n/ /ŋ/

VS: /m/ /ŋ/

"Most educated Samoans have an easy command of both styles."

For Pileni (Pilheni) our source is Ray (1919):

p	t	k	
f	s		h
m	n	ŋ	
	l		

Another language to be listed here for the 'West Polynesian Cluster' is Futuna-Aniwa. These are Polynesian Outlier dialects spoken on islands

thirty miles east of Tanna (Futuna) and fourteen miles northeast of Tanna (Aniwa) in the Southern New Hebrides. They show differences in consonant system, despite the fact that they are dialects of the same language. These differences appear not only in the consonant contrasts of each (phonemes), but also in the positional variants of the sounds which are now given in some detail (including vowels):

Futuna of New Hebrides as analyzed by A. Capell, *The Culture and Language of Futuna and Aniwa, New Hebrides, Oceanic Linguistics Monograph #5*, Sydney: University of Sydney, Australia, 1958.

p	t	k
m	n	ŋ
f	s	h
v	l	
w	r	
/k/	{ [k] before front vowels [c] before back vowels }	
/l/	{ [l] voiced fricative lateral }	
/r/	{ flap varies with fricative }	
/i/	{ [i] stressed [ɪ] unstressed interconsonantly [ɨ] pre- and post- vocalically }	
/e/	{ [e] }	
/a/	{ [a] occurs as allophone everywhere [ə] except unstressed word-final [ɔ] unstressed word-final }	
/o/	{ [ɔ] }	

/u/	[u]	stressed
	[v]	unstressed interconsonantly
	[y]	unstressed pre- and post- vocalically

Word Initial:

1. /h/ can occur in cluster with another C
2. a C or V may occur word initial

Word Final:

1. Only a V may be word final

Initial and Medial Syllables:

V
 C₁ V
 C₁ V C₁
 C₂ C₃ V
 C₂ C₃ V C₁

Final Syllable:

V
 C₁ V

Interphonemic Specifications:

C₁ = all consonants in inventory, except /h/ when the following type is C₁ V (C₁)

C₂ = h

C₃ = m, n, l, r

V = V₁ V₂, V₁

$$V_1 V_2 = \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} V_1 = /a/ & \text{when } V_2 = a, i, u, \\ V_1 = /o/ & \text{when } V_2 = e \\ V_1 = /e/ & \text{when } V_2 = i \end{array} \right\}$$

V₁ = any vowel in inventory

Aniwa of New Hebrides, as analyzed by A. Capell, The Culture and Language of Futuna and Aniwa, New Hebrides, Oceanic Linguistics Monograph #5, Sydney: University of Sydney, Australia, 1958.

p	t	ʃ	k	q	
f	s		ɣ		h
v					
m	n		ŋ		
	l				
w	r				
/ɣ/	[ɣ]	initial and medial	# [ɣ̃] ~ [ø]		
/q/	[q] ~ [q ^h]	only medially			
/k/	[k]	initial and medial			
/l/	[l]	voiced lateral fricative			
/r/		flap varies freely with fricative			
/ʃ/	[ʃ]	corresponds to the /ʃ/ in Futuna and also the /t/.			
/i/	[i]	stressed			
	[ɪ]	unstressed			
	[ɨ]	unstressed non-syllabic pre- and post- vocalic.			
/e/	[e]				
/a/	[a]	stressed and unstressed except word final			
	[ə]	unstressed word final			
/o/	[o]				
/u/	[u]	stressed			
	[ʊ]	unstressed syllabic			
	[ʊ̃]	unstressed non-syllabic pre- and post- vocalically.			

Word Initial

1. No initial consonant clusters
2. Word initial may be either C or V

Word Final

1. Only a vowel may be word final

Initial and Medial Syllables

V

 $C_1 V$ occurs only before $C_1 V \langle C_1 \rangle$ syllable type.

 $C_1 V C_1$

Only Medial

 $C_2 C_3 V$
 $C_2 C_3 V C_1$
occurs only before $C_1 V \langle C_1 \rangle$ syllable type.

Final Syllables

V

 $C_1 V$

Interphonemic Specifications

 C_1 = any consonant in inventory (Except /h/ when the following type is $C_1 V \langle C_1 \rangle$).

 C_2 = h

 C_3 = m, n, ŋ, l, r

 V = $V_1 V_2, V_3$
 $V_1 V_2$ = { When V_1 = a
When V_1 = o
When V_1 = e

then V_2 can = e, i, u
then V_2 can = e
then V_2 can = i

 V_3 = a, e, i, o, u

Sikaiana, in the central Solomons, may be one of a group of mutually intelligible dialects, including Taku (Mortlocks) and Nukumanu in the northern Solomons, and Nukuria off New Ireland.

Sikaiana:

p	t	k	
v	s		h
m	n		
	l		

We have excerpts on the sound systems of all seven languages of the 'East Polynesian Region' (1.2, above) and cite from Grace (op. cit.) for consonant distinctions:

Rarotonga:

p	t	k	ʔ
v			
m	n	ŋ	
	r		

Hawaiian:

p		k	ʔ
w			h
m	n		
	l		

Easter Island:

ʔ	t	k	
v			h
m	n	ŋ	
	r		

Marquesas:

p	t	k	ʔ
f			h
v			
m	n	ŋ	

Tahitian:

p	t		ʔ
f			h
v			
m	n		
	r		

Mangareva:

p	t	k	
v			h
m	n	ŋ	
	r		

Tuamotu:

p	t	k	
f			h
v			
m	n	ŋ	
	r		

The remaining three Polynesian languages are also cited from Grace (op.cit.).

In Maori, /hw/ stands for [h^w] or [f], and we cite the single letter /f/ for this phoneme in the following chart of consonant contrasts, and note that one might as well write [v] as [w] for /w/, since the two are here also alternants

of one phoneme. For Kapingamarangi, we give two alternate analyses--the unit phoneme solution which yields an additional aspirated series of stops and voiced continuants; and the cluster solution, which does not.

Maori:

p	t	k	
f			h
w	n	ŋ	
	r		

Kapingamarangi (unit phoneme solution):

p	t	k	
ph	th	kh	
w			
wh			h
n	n	ŋ	
nh	nh	qh	
	r		
	rh		

Kapingamarangi (cluster solution):

p	t	k	
w			h
n	n	ŋ	
	r		

Makware:

p	t	k	
f	s		h
y			
n	n	ŋ	
	r		

A few very obvious consonant types emerge when the number of distinctions are counted along one line (linear distinctions) for stops (S), fricatives (F), nasals (N), and liquids (L, for /l/ or /r/). Thus two dialects of one Polynesian language in the New Hebrides agree in the closely similar but not identical consonant types; they differ in that Aniwa has 5S (five stop distinctions: /p t ʔ k q/) while Futuna has 3S (three stop distinctions: /p t k/). But otherwise both Aniwa and Futuna show 4F, 3N, and 2L. While 3N (three nasal distinctions: /m n ŋ/) are found in every Polynesian language except Samoan and Hawaiian, no Polynesian language shows 4F (four linear fricative distinctions, with the usual additional contrast of voicing for labial fricative not counting as an extra linear distinction) other than the New Hebrides one, and both dialects here are 4F. The advantage of saying 4F, for example, is that differences in articulating (or phonemicizing) are not permitted to mask the fundamental sameness (isomorphic sameness) of two dialects or languages like Aniwa and Futuna in respect to both distinguishing 4F, even though the four linear distinctions of Futuna fricatives are /f s ʃ h/, and the four of Aniwa are /f s ɣ h/. Futuna-Aniwa both distinguish 2L (/r l/)—as does Bellore (Elbert, personal communication)—while all other Polynesian languages include not more than 1L, but in one instance less than one liquid. In short, the consonant type of Futuna-Aniwa is almost the same, and generally different than any other Polynesian consonant type.

Outlier Futuna of the New Hebrides is sometimes supposed to be the same language as the Polynesian-triangle-Futuna, a Tongan satellite with a vowel type identical with Tongan and Uvean. But the Futuna Outlier consonant type, as indicated above, is 3S-4F-3N-2L, while the Tongan consonant type (as well as its Futuna satellite, presumably) is 4S-3F-3N-1L.

Niue, classified in the 'Tongic Hesion', shows a 3S-2F-3N-1L type while languages with other consonant systems with four stop distinctions are not classified in the 'Tongic Hesion' - non-casual Samoan (4S-2F-3N-1L), Rarotongan (4S-1F-3N-1L) and Marquesan (4S-2F-3N-Zero L).

The average Polynesian consonant type is 3S-2F (or 3F)-3N-1L (Ellice Island, Niue, Tikopia, Male-Fila, Nukunono, Pileni, Maori, Kapingamarangi, Easter Island, Mangarevan, Tuamotuan).

A non-average Polynesian consonant type, in addition to those for languages mentioned above (Futuna-Aniwa, Tongan, non-casual Samoan, Rarotongan, Marquesan) is one of the type 3S-2F (or 3F)-2N-1L which is represented by four widely separated languages-casual Samoan, Sikaiana, Hawaiian, and Tahitian.

HAWAIIAN PIDGIN AND MOTHER TONGUE

2.3. Different types of pidgins have this in common: they are nobody's native language, but a second language. Creoles of various types also have something in common: they are learned as a native or first language by children, but what is learned is an expanded version of a previous pidgin. Since a pidgin is a contracted language — a blend or mixture of at least two languages, with restriction of topics talked about — and a creole is an expanded continuation of pidgin, both represent different kinds of reduction of two or more languages to one language, in contrast to various kinds of standard dialects which represent a monolingual continuity from one parent language. However, both standard and substandard dialects in some parts of the world reflect the influence of other languages.

Pidgin type $L_1 + L_2$ (reduced to a preponderant vocabulary from one language, and to a preponderant sentence structure from the other language) is exemplified by 19th century Chinese Pidgin English, in which English is L_1 and Cantonese is L_2 . The process by which this pidgin developed involved the use of a deliberately simplified English when merchants from England and New England sailing to the China coast first encountered Chinese speakers at Canton. These merchants may have used 'baby talk' in their first attempts to communicate with Cantonese speakers, or telegraphic style in uttering English sentences, selecting very short abbreviated sentences which the Cantonese would imitate and memorize. Then the English speaker would imitate the Cantonese imitation of English. Such successive and reciprocal imitations would lead to a conventionalized pidgin spoken both by the merchants (who would continue

speaking a standard dialect of English among themselves), and by the Cantonese (who would continue speaking a Cantonese dialect among themselves). The cultural domains that were discussed in this Chinese Pidgin English were concerned with buying and selling, loading and unloading boats.

A more recent instance of this type of pidgin is described by Goodman (in press) whose word lists suggest that in this Japanese-English pidgin, as spoken in Hamamatsu, Japanese contributes the preponderant vocabulary in the $L_1 + L_2$ reduction. However, in some short sentences cited, more words are derived from English than from Japanese (e.g. sayonara farewell, but with additional word class function and extended referent range in the pidgin, as to get rid of, throw away, be missing). Thus, "this you speak sayonara?" in reference to a mislaid tool means Is this the one you said was missing? But when the reference is to left-overs from the table, the sentence "pailu sayonara it" means Throw them out. Perhaps neither English nor Japanese are preponderant in their vocabulary contributions to this pidgin, but are equally contributory. The sentence structure is neither English nor Japanese; but the pidgin cannot thereby be said to be lacking in grammar. Some of the vocabulary items are also neither Japanese nor English, but blends of the two. The blending of the two languages to form a third pidginized language is least conspicuous in the phonology. In fact, it is possible to speak of two phonologies of this one pidgin, which is spoken by Japanese speakers with Japanese phones, and by English speakers with English phones. Though both the English and Japanese speakers use a few phones from the other's language that do not occur in their own, they utter them as rough approximations. This pidgin is peculiar in three respects. There is a sophisticated awareness on both sides that (a) each introduces his own speech habits from his own mother tongue; and (b) that the

pidgin is a temporary make-shift to serve specific purposes of communication (Americans in contact with the Japanese in Hamamatsu in the middle 1950's on a technical aid program); and in that exactly two languages are involved: L_1 (English) and L_2 (Japanese).

An example of a pidgin involving more than two languages (type $L_1 + L_2 + \dots + L_n$) is pidgin English in Hawaii. For the half century before 1875 there were scarcely more than two languages spoken in Hawaii, dialects of the Polynesian Hawaiian language and dialects of English. Some missionaries learned to speak the language of the Hawaiians who greatly outnumbered English speakers. But many Hawaiians at that time could be classified as incipient bilinguals because the missionaries gave them a natural model of English. The missionaries did not imitate the approximations to English that the Hawaiian speakers made in the period before 1875.

For the half century after 1875, a pidgin English was spoken in Hawaii, not only by the Polynesian Hawaiians, but also by speakers of other languages who were imported to work on plantations—speakers of Chinese, Portuguese, Japanese, Spanish (Puerto Rican dialect), Korean and Illocano (a Philippine language). The English speakers who gave the non-English speakers a model of English were plantation foremen and storekeepers. The model they gave was possibly influenced by pidgin English then spoken on the China coast, or at any rate the pidginizing process was like that: the English speakers offered a model that was a simplified, abbreviated version of natural English, interlarded with borrowings, from Hawaiian especially, that were already introduced into the English then spoken on the Islands. The bosses' adaptation of English for the workers was imitated by the non-English speakers, but in different ways, depending on the mother tongue of the speaker. The English speakers, the fore-

men and storekeepers, then imitated the imitation, and this continued until the reciprocal imitations became conventionalized as Hawaiian pidgin English. Having become conventionalized, Hawaiian pidgin English served as a lingua franca in the cultural domains of work and buying and selling. At the turn of the century, only about five percent of the people in Hawaii spoke English as a native language. This does not mean that the remaining 95 percent of the people in the Islands had Hawaiian as their native language; Hawaiian was merely one of a half dozen other non-English languages. The Polynesian Hawaiians could use the now conventionalized pidgin not only for talking with the five percent of the population--English speakers living in the Islands--but also for talking to the much higher percentage of imported laborers who spoke languages that were neither English nor Polynesian. And the non-English, non-Polynesian speaker would of course use the Hawaiian Pidgin English as a lingua franca for communicating with English speakers, with Polynesian Hawaiians, and with anyone else whose native language was not the same as the speaker's. In Hawaii at that time it was expected that a person would be bilingual, speaking in his native language when addressing a member of his in-group, and speaking Hawaiian pidgin English when addressing a member of any out-group. The topics discussed in the pidgin were restricted; the topics discussed with other members of the in-group in one's native language were unrestricted. The Hawaiian pidgin English of the late 19th century was no one's native language.

During a transitional period lasting one generation or about 30 years--the 30 years after the proclamation that English was to be the language of the schools (proclaimed during the end of the Monarchy in Hawaii, 1893-98)--children with diverse language backgrounds began to speak Hawaiian pidgin English to each other -- about all things of interest to children, and not merely about

buying and selling. This served to expand the pidgin. Influenced by their English-speaking teachers, the expanded pidgin borrowed more from English than from any other one language. Toward the end of the half century (1875-1925) when Hawaiian pidgin was spoken as a second language, beside a mother tongue spoken at home by parents and grandparents, some non-English children began to speak nothing but the expanded pidgin, even at home. Though they had no other native language that was in active use, the children in this transitional period no doubt had a passive knowledge of their forbearers' native language. Thus, if a monolingual Hawaiian grandmother would ask her grandchild a question in Polynesian Hawaiian, the grandchild would supply sure evidence that he understood the question by answering appropriately, even though he answered in the 'expanded pidgin' which, indeed, was beginning to expand itself out of existence. It had become a native language for such children in transition, and a pidgin is defined as a second language rather than a first language.

Whenever a pidgin becomes the only language spoken in a society it is customary to call it a 'creole' language developed out of a former pidgin. A creole is necessarily a native language, since it is the only language of a particular society. And as such, also, it is not restricted to certain topics as buying and selling, but instead is used to talk about all the things of interest to the society in which it is spoken. And a language which is correctly classified as 'creole' is a separate language in the usual sense of a separate language--mutually unintelligible with other languages. There is as much of a language barrier between Haitian Creole and standard French as there is between Spanish and French, for example.

In Hawaii today, the Hawaiian pidgin English that expanded itself out of existence (during the transitional period which ended about a generation ago)

is often called a 'creole', but more often called a 'pidgin'. It ceased being a pidgin when it became the only language of children in the transitional period. It is not a creole because its speakers can understand much of what speakers of Standard English dialects say (and vice versa); if it were a creole, there might be as much of a language barrier between it and English as there is between English and Dutch, for example. The Hawaiian pidgin English does not remain as a pidgin; nor did it expand into a creole; instead, it developed into a sub-standard dialect of English during the transitional period. This sub-standard is the only dialect of English spoken, according to one sophisticated estimate, by one-third of the people in the Hawaiian Islands today.

The process of the peculiar development from former pidgin to a present sub-standard dialect of English is not certainly known, but it can be reconstructed with as much certainty as can the process of pidginizing English in the first place. When Hawaiian pidgin English was spoken before the period of transition to sub-standard, English speakers had to learn it as a separate language; so also, non-English speakers of other fully developed languages in Hawaii had to learn pidgin as a separate language. But as more and more English speakers came to Hawaii, proportionately fewer took the trouble to learn to speak the Hawaiian pidgin, while the speakers of the pidgin were at the same time interlarding more and more English words into the pidgin, sometimes without abandoning the non-English equivalent. Hence, synonym compounds came to be used. Instead of merely saying 'pan' for finished or used up; or 'make' for die or dead, the pidgin speaker in the transitional period might say both in compound: '/pan/-finish' for completely finished, and '/make/-die-dead' for good and dead.

This sort of synonym compound is still possible in the sub-standard which has developed out of the pidgin. Some Polynesian words, especially, are con-

tinued in the sub-standard; and some of these are borrowed by speakers of standard English who have long been residents in Hawaii, as 'makai' for ocean-side of the island, and 'mauka' for mountain-side or mountain direction; 'pali' for cliff or vertical wall of a mountain; 'kapu' for taboo, keep away, or keep out (often posted -- e.g. as a redundant synonym on no parking signs); 'lu?au' feast cooked Hawaiian style; and 'Haole' for European (other than Portuguese). But in the following fragment of a conversation between two Hawaiian teen-agers, there is not a single non-English word except the exclamation 'bra!'; but 'da kine' is used in a different sense than Standard English 'that kind', and appears in different places in sentences, as do junctures and intonations in general (after Elizabeth Carr's transcription, 1963):

(A) Ya--but how much da tickets?

(B) Aw, man! I tink gon-be fifty cents.

(A) Shut up! I tink gon-be around --60--60 cents.

(B) I'm small! I rader take one small ticket.

(A) You know what dat small ticket goin-be?

(B) Quarter.

(A) Quarter. You buy quarter den.

(A) Eh! You saw "King of Kings"?

(B) Oh, da good! But I nava see 'em.

(A) Was real good, boy! (bra!)

(B) Ya--you saw 'em?

(A) I like da part when dey put da crown on his head.

(B) You saw yem?

(A) Yah!

(B) Had plenty laughs?

(A) Naa--all da kine cry--yeh? Everybody cry.

Other samples of conversation in the sub-standard may reflect the native language of speakers' parents or grandparents by selection of non-English words from that language (Polynesian Hawaiian, Japanese or Chinese--in that order of importance); but non-English words, when they do occur in the sub-standard, are mostly from Polynesian Hawaiian, as 'wahine' for girl (in sentence (1), which includes also tonari for neighbor, from Japanese), and as 'pau' for finish (in sentence (2), which includes also 'yak fun' for eating, from Chinese):

(1) Da tonari wahine stuck-up, but!

My, but that neighbor girl is stuck-up!

(2) I can go show when I pau yak-fun?

May I go to the show when I finish eating?

Sentences like (1) and (2) would not be immediately intelligible to speakers of Standard English. But any resident in Hawaii would understand:

(3) You go Haole movie tonight, yeh?

(4) Aw, these junks pencil!

(5) Aw, this was a junk day!

In sentence (3) 'Haole' is used in the sense of 'English speaking', and in general the term 'Haole' is used for speakers of standard English who are also Caucasian. When a non-Caucasian in Hawaii refuses to continue talking the sub-standard dialect of English to his classmates during recess but instead practices what he has learned of standard English in classes, by addressing his peers in that dialect, he may be called contemptuously a 'yellow Haole'. This gives rise to feelings of guilt, impedes the learning of standard English by non-Haole children, and just about guarantees the continuation of sub-standard English in Hawaii, with all its emotional identifications with every-

thing that is 'home' in the still diverse non-Haole cultures. There are three different paths that a non-Haole may take in response to the constant insistence by Haoles in Hawaii that standard English is better than the sub-standard English. Of these three paths, the last listed is more interesting than the other two: (1) resist the prodding of Haole educators, maintain a sullen silence in classes, and try to avoid speaking at all unless it is possible to speak in the sub-standard dialect of English with other non-Haole speakers; (2) yield to the prodding of Haole educators, and thereby learn to switch from sub-standard to standard English by refusing to say anything in the sub-standard dialect that was the only dialect spoken before going to school; (3) speak the standard English with Haole friends and the sub-standard with non-Haole friends.

Those who follow the first path are probably uncomplicated personalities who suffer from no disturbing frustration by realizing, as everyone in Hawaii realized, that those who cannot speak standard English are precluded from the jobs in socio-economic classes that others find especially desirable.

Those who follow the second path probably value parental interaction less, peer group relationships less, and self-identification or ethnic identification less--on the negative side. On the positive side, those non-Haole who decide to speak Standard English exclusively after having spoken the sub-standard as their first dialect, are probably ambitious, sensitive to socio-economic advantages, and successful in reaching business and professional goals, despite the emotional cost involved in rejecting self-identification to achieve other-identification.

Those who follow the third path follow the most interesting, and also the cheeriest path of the three, even though this path seems to lead to the paradox of eating your cake and having it too. Knowledge of the standard is a

symbol of being ambitious for non-Haoles. The sub-standard is the symbol of the neo-Hawaiian way of life, and the modern pan-Hawaiian way of life, which includes the permissive aspects of the diverse cultures found in Hawaii today.

Standard English is, by and large, the only dialect spoken by Haoles; those long resident in Hawaii understand the sub-standard readily, and regard it as ungrammatical—mistakenly so, because the sub-standard has a grammar of its own, a grammar which differs only in some few rules from the grammar of Standard English. The Haoles do not look upon Standard English possessively as a symbol of Haole society, as a way of speaking that excludes non-Haole from their society. They look upon Standard English as the only good English, and far from excluding others from its use, they constantly urge non-Haole to abandon the use of the sub-standard and to speak Standard English exclusively.

Some non-Haole do just this, as noted above. Other non-Haole who have learned to speak Standard English as a second dialect, continue their use of the sub-standard when conversing with their non-Haole peers. In short, they switch from the Sub-standard to Standard English whenever they talk to a Haole; but we have yet to encounter a Haole who can switch from Standard English to the Sub-standard in natural conversation; interlarding or citing an occasional sub-standard phrase is not speaking Sub-standard any more than interlarding a French phrase in English is speaking French.

It must be more difficult to learn to switch dialects than it is to learn to speak a separate language, and then switch languages. Dialects in general are more inflexibly a symbol of a society to which one belongs than are separate languages; many different societies may speak a given separate language, but a dialect within that language is more closely correlated with a given society, or with a more intimate segment within a given society.

Highly educated speakers of German often learn to speak a regional dialect as children and Standard German in school; then, as adults, they are able to switch from one to the other, as occasion demands. It is in the more intimate or self-identifying or society-identifying occasions that the regional dialect is used, while the Standard German dialect is used for public occasions. This is not analogous to the use of Standard English and Sub-standard English in modern Hawaii, however, for in Hawaii the Sub-standard is a vertical rather than a horizontal or regional dialect, and it functions as a negative symbol (being non-Haole), rather than as an identification of location in social strata, or society, or region.

What is given above (2.2) as the vowel distinctions (2(FB) over N) and consonant distinctions (3S-2F-2N-1L) of Hawaiian is adequate for the Polynesian words in Modern Hawaiian speech; however, there are so many English words borrowed in Hawaiian that additional distinctions have come to be made in what we may call expanded Hawaiian. The three stops, /p k ʔ/, are expanded to five, /p t ʔ k ʔ/; and to the plain oral stops (but not the affricate stop) an SGC of voicing is added so that /p b/, and /t d/ and /k g/ contrasts are made; and in fricatives, /s z/ as well as /f [v]/, since [v] is one of the variants of the phoneme /w/. In expanded Hawaiian, two laterals are distinguished, /l r/, and six vowels are symmetrically contrasted at three tongue heights in a 3 (FB) vowel type:

i	u
e	o
æ	a

The information on this interesting expansion to accommodate English loans

is taken from Pukui and Elbert (1957), as is the following which, however, refers to the traditional sound system of Hawaiian, rather than to expanded Hawaiian.

Syllable structure reflects CV or V, in which C stands for consonant, and V for one of the five vowels. Compare:

V₂ V₃

V₄ V₅.

These are diphthongs: when stress occurs, it occurs on the initial member of the cluster; there are restrictions on the membership of V₂, V₃, V₄, V₅; and the final members of the cluster are non-syllabic.

V₁ = i, e, a, o, u

V₂ = e, o, a

V₃ = i, u

V₄ = a

V₅ = e, o

C = any consonant

Phonological Specification of the Inventory

1. Stress is predictable

- a) all long vowels are stressed
- b) stress occurs on the 1st and 4th syllable of five syllable words with only short vowels
- c) of all other words stress falls on the next to the last syllable of the word and on alternate preceding syllables.

2. Allophones of the inventory

a) General statements

- (1) vowels following /ʔ/ are shorter phonetically than in other positions
- (2) stressed vowels are relatively longer than when unstressed

(3) final stressed vowels however are shorter than when not final

(4) utterance final vowels are often voiceless

(5) $V_x + V_x = V_x$ (V_x = two like vowels and + = word boundary)

b) Vowel allophones

/i/ [i'] stressed \pm length

[i] unstressed

/e/ [ɛ] stressed or unstressed short

[e'] stressed long

/a/ [ə] unstressed, not in diphthong

[ɛ ~ ɛ'] before /i/ in diphthong + stress

[ʌ] before /u/ in diphthong + stress

[ɔ'] stressed, not in diphthong

/o/ [o]

/u/ [u]

c) Consonant allophones

/k/ [k]

[t] in free variation with [k], but used stylistically in some idiolects and chants, and dialectically [t] occurs in speech of speakers from Niihau Island.

d) Some problems of distribution

(1) /ʔ/ is a contrastive consonant in words but also obligatorily occurs utterance initial.

(2) /w :: u/

/w/ contrasts with /u/

(a) /kawa/ place for leaping

/kaʊa/ war

(b) But /w/ is predictable and obligatory, therefore non-contrastive between /u/ , /o/ and a following /a/ .

(c) /w/ is in contrast following /u/ , /o/ before ā, ī, ē, ō, ū (macron for length):

/kauwā/ outcast

/kaua/ war [kau^wa]

/kōwā/ channel

/koa/ [ko^wa] brave

(d) /w/ is written orthographically even when not in contrast when occurring in certain morphemes:

in English loans with (w-) initial

/uwaki/ watch

/uwapo/ wharf

(3) [y] is obligatory and non-contrastive between /i/ , /e/ and following /a/ , /ā/ .

(4) Space indicates the units to which the stress rules are applied, with the exception of where space sets off clitics.

(5) Clitics have different stress rules than other space-separated words.

(a) They are stressed as if they were another syllable of an accompanying space-separated phoneme-sequence.

(b) They are stressed as independent words only when they precede an unstressed vowel.

(c) The clitics are:

/a~ o/ of

/e/ vocative

/e/ by

/he/ indefinite article

/i/ object marker, to, in

/ke/ definite article

/me/ and, with

/o/ subject marker

/ho'e/ causative/ simulative

What are termed 'clitics', above, are simply indicated as one of many kinds of minor morphemes (in formula, lower case m) which do not function as phrase nucleus, as do major morphemes (in formula, cap. M) in the following sentences.

These sentences are largely adopted from conversational Hawaiian by Elbert (1957). The first line of each sentence gives free translation; the second line gives the Hawaiian text, with minor morphemes written as separate syllables whenever they have the shape CV (but when a sequence of minor morphemes are C or else V before a CV base, they are written as prefixes in one word, as the word glossed his in the sentences which follow). The English gloss is interlinear, with each morpheme (if separated by space) translated literally.

The square brackets around words in their literal glosses mean that the corresponding Hawaiian morphemes in the line above belong to one phrase.

Underneath the phrase--indicating square brackets, we state whether the morpheme above is major (M) or minor (m).

(1) This is a person.

he	kanaka	ke	ia
[a	person]	[the	here]
m	M	m	M

In sentences (1) to (10), inclusive, the first phrase functions as Comment, followed by a phrase which functions as Topic. These sentences, with the same

profile, may differ in phrase interiors, when phrases include more than phrase introducer (minor morpheme) and phrase nucleus (major morpheme).

(2) That is a woman.

he	wahine	kē	la
[a	<u>woman</u>]	[the	<u>far</u>]
m	M	m	M

Sentence (2) is identical with (1) in profile and in [m M] structure of phrase interior. So also are sentences (3) - (5), following:

(3) That is a paper.

he	pepa	kē	rā
[a	<u>paper</u>]	[the	<u>near</u>]
m	M	m	M

(4) What is this?

he	aha	kē	ia
[a	<u>what</u>]	[the	<u>here</u>]
m	M	m	M

(5) She is a woman.

he	wahine	ʔo	ia
[a	<u>woman</u>]	[subj. part. here]	
m	M	m	M

(6) He has a wife.

he	wahine	kā na
[a	<u>woman</u>]	[his]
m	M	m-m-M

In sentence (6) the second or topic phrase includes phrase introducer k the, followed by ā alienable possession, followed by na third person - the three

morphemes written as one word, and glossed as his.

(7) This is a new house.

he	hale	hōu	kē	ia
[a	(house	new)]	[the	here]
m	M	M	m	M

In the first or comment phrase, the phrase introducer precedes a modified-modifier sequence, shown in parentheses in the gloss.

(8) That is a moral book.

he	puke	pono	kē	lā
[a	(book	moral)]	[the	near]
m	M	M	m	M

Sentence (8) is identical with (7) in profile and structure of phrase interiors.

(9) The stranger has a car.

he	kaʔa	ko	ka	malihini
[a	car]	[belonging to	the	stranger]
m	M	m	m	M

In the second or comment phrase the major morpheme, glossed stranger, is preceded by two phrase introducers.

(10) What is this thing?

he	aha	kē	ia	nea
[a	what]	[the	(here	thing)]
m	M	m	M	M

In the second or topic phrase, the phrase introducer precedes a modified-modifier sequence in parentheses.

(11) Who is that beautiful woman?

?o vai kē lā wahine u?i
 [subj. part. who] [the] there (woman beautiful)
 M M M M M M

If sentence (11) were contracted by omission of the modified-modifier sequence as shown in parentheses for the gloss, the sentence would read "Who is that?" As sentence (11) stands, the parentheses in the second or topic phrase contains the modifiers for there, functioning as modified,

(12) Please, what is your name?

?olu?alu 'ee|| o vai kou inoa
 [imperative] kind] [you-sing.] [subj. part. who] [your-sing. name]
 M M M M M M-M-M M

The comment-topic profile begins after the juncture (||). In the final, or topic phrases, what is written as /kou/ and glossed as your-singular, represents a sequence of the followed by o, inalienable possession, followed by u, 2nd person.

(13) The ignorant people have an ugly place.

he wāhi pupuka ko ka pō?e na?aupō
 [a (place ugly)] [belonging to the(people ignorant)]

In the second or comment phrase, what is glossed (people ignorant) is preceded by two phrase introducers.

(14) How is your mother?

pō hea kou waku-shine
 [like how] [the-your (parent-female)]
 M M M-M M-M

When the phrase introducer of the first phrase is /he/, as in sentences (1) to (10) and (13), or /?e/, as in sentences (11) and (12), the comment phrase

precedes the topic phrase. So also, when the phrase introducer of the first phrase is /pe/ , as in this sentence (14) and in (15), /ma/ as in sentence (16), and /ʔe/ as in (17).

(15) Thus is the nature of women.

pē	lā	no	ke	ʔano	o	na	wāhine
[<u>like</u>	<u>that</u>	<u>indeed</u>]	[<u>the</u>	<u>nature</u>	<u>of</u>	<u>the-pl.</u>	<u>women</u>]

m	-	M	M	m	M	m	m	M
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

(16) Where is the foreign hat?

mā	hea	ka	pāpale	haole
[<u>at</u>	<u>where</u>]	[<u>the</u>	(<u>hat</u>	<u>foreign</u>)]
m	M	m	M	M

(17) Was he a fool perhaps?

he	kanaka	hūpō	paha
[<u>a</u>	<u>person</u>	<u>foolish</u>	<u>perhaps</u>]
m	M	M-M	M

In sentence (17) the topic — 'he' in free translation — is not specified. Alternatively one can say that the topic is derived from the comment, or, is contained in the comment, i.e. it is understood.

(18) How many people are in the picture?

ʔe	hia	poʔe	ma	ke	kiʔi
[<u>how</u>	<u>many</u>]	[<u>people</u>]	[<u>in</u>	<u>the</u>	<u>picture</u>]
m	M	M	m	m	M

In sentence (18) a comment-topic unit precedes a locative phrase. The favorite position for a locative is indeed the last phrase of a profile which might stand without its locative phrase.

(19) The elephant is the biggest of all four-footed creatures.

ka	mea	nui	o	na	mea	wāwae
[<u>the</u>	(<u>thing</u>	<u>big</u>)]	[<u>of</u>	<u>the</u>	(<u>thing</u>	<u>foot-foot</u>
m	M	M _a	m	m	M	M _(=feet)
ʻehā	apau	ʻo	ka	ʻelepani		
<u>four</u>	<u>all</u>)]	[<u>subj. part.</u>	<u>the</u>	<u>elephant</u>]		
M	M _b	m	m	M _c		

In sentence (19), the two comments (the brackets with subscripts a for independent and b dependent comment) precede the topic (phrase marked by subscript c).

These three phrases can permute non-contrastively to b a c, c b a, c a b.

When the topic (c) is the first phrase, it becomes emphatic, and may be freely translated as for the elephant. Parentheses in phrases a and b show modified-modifier order, with more than one modifier in b.

(20) She was a beauty to look at.

he	maikaʻi	ke	nānā	aku
[<u>a</u>	<u>beauty</u>]	[<u>the</u>	<u>look</u>	<u>from here</u>]
m	M	m	M	m

The profile of this sentence is comment phrase followed by comment phrase; the topic is supplied in the free translation (she), but is not specified overtly in Hawaiian.

(21) It's a very good school, isn't it?

he	kula	maikaʻi	loa	ʻaʻole	anei
[<u>a</u>	(<u>school</u>	<u>good</u>	<u>very</u>)]	[<u>not</u>	<u>perhaps</u>]
m	M	M	M	m	M

The first is a comment phrase, beginning with phrase introducer before parenthesis which shows modified-modifier-modifier order. The second is a comment phrase

also, but not an independent one. That is, only the first comment is self-sufficient.

(22) How many people are standing?

e	hia	kānaka	e	kū	ana
[<u>inf.</u>	<u>many</u>	[<u>people</u>	[<u>inf.</u>	<u>stand-ing</u>	
	a	b		c	

The profile b-c by itself is comment phrase before verb phrase. This profile is preceded by an interrogative phrase (a). The same morpheme, glossed inf[initive], serves as phrase introducer in a and in c.

(23) Yes, I'll certainly go.

?ae	||	hele	no
[<u>yes</u>		[<u>go</u>	<u>indeed</u>
M		M	m

In the profile interjection phrase before verb phrase, both phrases are self-sufficient--that is, either can be uttered without support of the other. Note the verb phrase in this sentence appears without a topic phrase functioning as subject. The subject (I) is not overtly specified.

(24) The good woman speaks.

?ōlelo	ka	wahine	maika'i
[<u>speak</u>	[<u>the</u>	(<u>woman</u>	<u>good</u>)]

This is the most productive profile not only in Hawaiian but in Polynesian generally: verb phrase before subject phrase (topic functioning as subject). Interior of the subject phrase shows phrase introducer, glossed the, preceding modified-modifier parentheses.

(25) The white person speaks well.

?ōlelo	maika'i	ka	haole
[<u>speak</u>	<u>good</u>	[<u>the</u>	<u>white person</u>]

Here again, the profile is [V phrase] [S phrase] , as in (24) above, and (26), (27), (28), (29), (31), and (32) below. All [S phrases] begin with phrase introducer except when the subjects are pronouns, as in (26) and (29). None of the [V phrases] in this set have phrase introducers.

(26) I speak.

ʔelelo aa

[speak] [I]

M M

(27) Is this chair good?

maikaʔi anei keia noho

[good] [perhaps] [the(here chair)]

M M m-m M

(28) Is this land cool ?

oluʔolu ke ia ʔāina

[cool-cool] [the (here land)]

This [V phrase] [S phrase] might be freely translated This land is cool.

It is the intonation rather than the profile or phrase introducer that provokes the interrogative translation.

(29) I am well.

maikaʔi au

[well] [I]

M M

(30) The house is big.

nui ka hale

[big] [the house]

The first or [V phrase] refers to bigness in size.

(31) The lesson is good.

maikaʔi	ka	ha ʔawina
<u>good</u>	<u>the</u>	<u>lesson</u>

(32) The teacher answers.

pane	ke	kumu
[<u>answer</u>]	[<u>the</u>	<u>teacher</u>]

(33) Let's read books.

heluhelu	puke	kākou
[<u>(read-read</u>	<u>book)</u>	[<u>we 3-incl.</u>]
M - M	M	m - m

Though this is also a [V phrase] [S phrase] profile, the interior of the [V phrase] shows a special instance of modified-modifier order given as usual in parentheses, in the English sense of we book-read (where modifier precedes), or rather we books-read, for the reduplication of the modified marks the plural of the modifier.

(34) You are eating poi.

e	ʔai	poi	ana	'oe
[<u>inf.</u>	<u>eat</u>	<u>poi</u>	<u>-ing</u>]	[<u>you</u>]

This is also a [V phrase] [S phrase] profile, but the [V phrase] begins with a phrase introducer--indeed, with a discontinuous introducer /e...ana/.

Another possible phrase introducer /i/ is incompatible with /ana/. If the [V phrase] were introduced with /i/, the free translation would be you ate poi.

(35) They don't know.

aʔole	lākoa	ʔike
[<u>not</u>]	[<u>they -3</u>]	[<u>know</u>]
M	m M	M

The usual profile is inverted in sentences (35) and (36) where negative phrase precedes pronoun interior [S phrase] before rather than after [V phrase].

(36) He doesn't speak Chinese.

a'ole	ʔo	ia	ʔolelo	pāke
[not]	[subj. intro. he]	[(speak	Chinese)]	
M	m	M	M	M

The [V phrase] shows (modified-modifier) order, as though inversely, one were to say in English that the subject Chinese-speaks.

(37) Waikiki is not good.

ʔa'ole	maikaʔi	ʔo	Waikiki
[not]	[good]	[subj. intro. Waikiki]	
M	M	m	M

Here the usual order of [V phrase] before [S phrase] follows after the negative phrase; so also in (38), below.

(38) The students don't count.

ʔa'ole	helu	na	haumāna
[not]	[count]	[the-pl. student]	
M	M	m	M

The phrase introducer in the [S phrase] marks plural.

(39) Please, what is your name?

e	ʔolu ʔolu	ʔoe ||	ʔo	wai
[imperative	be kind]	[you-first person]	[subj.-part. who]	
m	M	M	m	M

Here imperative phrase precedes pronoun interior [S phrase] before rather than after [V phrase].

(40) You watch him.

ʔike ia ia

[see] [non-S-the 3rd person]

The profile of this sentence and sentence (41) below is [V phrase] before object, that is [O phrase]. The [O phrase] introducer is /iā/ before phrase interior pronoun or personal name, except that /ā/ is lost by elision before /aʔu/ (glossed as I).

(41) Answer the teacher.

pane ike kumu

[answer] [non-S the teacher]

The second of the [O phrase] introducers, /ke/ in /ike/, is incompatible with following personal name, pronoun, or place name. In both sentences (40) and (41), as in some previous sentences, the subject is not specified if it is self-evident in the Hawaiian utterance.

(42) Teacher speaks well.

ʻōlelo maikaʔi ke kumu

[speak good] [the teacher]

In contrast to sentences (40) and (41) above, sentence (42) shows the usual [V phrase] [S phrase] profile, with phrase introducer /ke/ in the [S phrase].

(43) I understand it.

maopopo i aʔu

[understand] [by me]

M

m

M

In this profile, [V phrase] comes before phrase functioning as agentive—[Ag phrase]—which is introduced by the minor morpheme /i/ that is always used as a non-subject. The free translation may give first person as the

subject or be rendered It is understood by me.

(44) I don't understand it.

ʔaʔole	maopopo	i	aʔu
[<u>not</u>]	[<u>understand</u>]	[<u>by</u>]	[<u>me</u>]
M	M	m	M

Here the negative phrase precedes profile [V phrase] [Ag. phrase].

(45) I understand the book.

maopopo	i	aʔu	ka	puke
[<u>understand</u>]	[<u>by</u>]	[<u>me</u>]	[<u>the</u>]	[<u>book</u>]
M	m	M	m	M

Here the profile is as for sentence (43), above, but followed by a phrase which functions as subject--altogether, [V phrase] [Ag phrase] [S phrase].

In non-contrastive syntax this sentence may be reordered to:

maopopo	ka	puke	i	aʔu
[<u>understand</u>]	[<u>the</u>]	[<u>book</u>]	[<u>by</u>]	[<u>me</u>]

Here the alternate profile is [V phrase] [S phrase] [Ag. phrase].

In either case, the free translation might be The book is understood by me.

There is nothing in the [V phrase] interior to specify that the verb is transitive or passive.

So far, in the preceding sentences, the morpheme /i/ in /iā/ has been glossed as by or to in an ad hoc manner, according to its function in a particular phrase. The minor morpheme /i/ never appears in [S phrase]—hence is a very general non-subject marker. It will in the following sentences be glossed m—that is, minor morpheme.

(46) Do you understand the book?

naopopo		ʔoe	ka	puke
[<u>understand</u>]	[<u>m-the</u>	<u>you-sg.</u>]	[<u>the</u>	<u>book</u>]
M	m-m	M	m	M

This profile is the same as that of sentence (45) above, and the phrases can be re-ordered in the same manner. In general, the favorite profile for a question sentence is [V phrase] [Ag phrase] [S phrase] but this profile is also possible for non-interrogative sentences.

(47) Does he have a new car?

toaʔa	iā	ia	he	kaʔa	hou
[<u>possess</u>]	[<u>m-the</u>	<u>him</u>]	[<u>a</u>	(<u>car</u>	<u>new</u>)]
M	m-m	M	m	M	M

The profile here is [V phrase] [Ag. phrase] [S phrase], the favorite for a question sentence.

(48) Can you speak English?

hiki	iā	ʔoe	ke	ʔolelo	haoleʔ
[<u>can do</u>]	[<u>m-the</u>	<u>you</u>]	[<u>the</u>	(<u>speech</u>	<u>white</u>)]
M	m-m	M	m	M	M

Here again the favorite question profile is [V phrase] [Ag. phrase] [S phrase], but with non-interrogative intonation, this sentence could be read English can be spoken by you. In the [S phrase] the parentheses showing modified-modifier order might be glossed (language white) for English.

(49) Can you drive a car?

hiki	iā	ʔoe	ke	kalaiwa	kaʔa
[<u>can do</u>]	[<u>m-the</u>	<u>you</u>]	[<u>the</u>	(<u>driving</u>	<u>car</u>)]
M	m-m	M	m	M	M

This is identical in profile with (48) above; the [S phrase] again shows modified-modifier parentheses. A closer free translation might be Car-riving can be done by you?

(50) Can you surf?

hiki	iā	ʻoe	ke	heʻe	nalu
[can]	[m-the	you]	[the	(sliding	wave)]
M	m - m	M	m	M	M

A closer free translation might be Wave-sliding can be done by you?

(51) Does he understand the story?

maopopo	anei	iā	ia	ka	moʻolelo
[understand perhaps]	[m-the	him]	[the	story]	
M	M	m m	M	m	M

In this sentence the profile is identical with that of the previous half dozen sentences. The [V phrase] interior here shows the modified-modifier order with the modifier (glossed perhaps) also marking interrogative.

(52) The chief won the war.

eo	ke	kana	i	ke	aliʻi
[win]	[the	war]	[m	the	chief]
M	m	M	m	m	M

In contrast to the profiles of the preceding several sentences, the profile of this and the next few sentences shows [V phrase] [S phrase][Ag. phrase]. A closer free translation would be The war was won by the chief.

(53) God save the king.

ola	ka	mōʻī	i	ke	akua
[gave]	[the	King]	[m	the	God]
M	m	M	m	m	M

Or in closer free translation, The king is saved by God.

(54) I will kill you.

make ʔoe i aʔu

[die] [you] [m me]

M M m - M

(55) I see the blackboard.

ʔike au i ka papaʔeleʔele

[see] [I] [m the blackboard]

This sentence introduces a new profile [V phrase] [S (subject)phrase] [O (b)ject phrase]. The [O phrase] is introduced by /i/.

(56) I see them.

ʔike au iā lākou

[see] [I] [m-the them]

Here again the profile is [Vt phrase] [S phrase] [O phrase]. The /i/ minor morpheme marks non-subject. More specifically, in sequence after transitive [Vt phrase], /i/ marks [O phrase], /ʔike/ and /aloha/ are intransitive verbs, when in [V phrases].

In the [O phrase], the phrase introducer /iā/ includes /i/ as the morpheme glossed m (minor morpheme) which in general terms is labelled non-S (non-Subject) because /i/ does not appear in subject phrases. In sentence (56) this /i/ marks object because the [O phrase] introduced by /iā/ appears in sequence after a transitive [Vt phrase]. Other functions of the non-S

/i/ are found in other sentence profiles which follow.

(57) I see Kalei.

ʔike au lā kalei

[see] [I] [m-the Kalei]

Here again the profile is [Vt phrase] [S phrase] [O phrase].

(58) Ku loves her.

aloha	ʔo	ku	ia	ia
[love]	[subj. part. Ku]	[m-the	her]	

Again: [Vt phrase] [S phrase] [O phrase].

(59) He ought to sit in this chair.

e	noho	ʔo	ia	i	keia	noho
[imp. sit]	[subject he]	[in the-here chair]				

Here the profile differs in two respects from that of sentences (56), (57), and (58), above: the profile for (59) is not transitive, but rather intransitive [V phrase] [S phrase] [L phrase]. The phrase interior of the final Locative phrase includes the non-S minor morpheme /i/ which functions as [L phrase] after intransitive [V phrase].

(60) Do you go to school?

hele	ʔoe	i	ke	kula
[go]	[you]	[m the school]		

In the intransitive [V phrase] [S phrase] [L phrase] profile, the order is the same for both statement and question.

(61) I live in Honolulu.

noho	au	ma	Honolulu
[live]	[I]	[in Honolulu]	

Here again the profile is [V phrase] [N phrase] [L phrase]. However, the final phrase introducer is specifically /ma/ for in (rather than /i/ for non-S interpreted as locative after intransitive [V phrase]).

(62) The chief stays in the house.

noho	ke	aliʔi	ma	ka	hale
[stay]	[the chief]	[in the house]			

The profile here is identical with that of (62), including phrase interior of the final [L phrase].

(63) The child looked inside the house.

ua	nānā	ke	keiki	i	loko	o	ka	hale
[pf.]	<u>look</u>	[the	<u>child</u>	[m	<u>inside</u>	[of	<u>the</u>	<u>house</u>

After the intransitive [V phrase], there are three phrases, each with a phrase introducer; in the last phrase, the phrase introducer /ka/ is preceded by /e/ glossed of for possessor phrase. The profile is [V] [S] [L] [P] phrases.

The remaining sentences are given without further comment.

(64) The child looked at this and that inside the house.

ua	nānā	ke	keiki	i	kēlā	mea
[pf.]	<u>look</u>	[the	<u>child</u>	[m	<u>the-there</u>	<u>thing</u>
kēia	mea	i	loko	o	ka	hale
[the-here	<u>thing</u>	[m	<u>inside</u>	of	<u>the</u>	<u>house</u>

(65) You come and eat.

e	hele	mai	ʔee	e	ʔai
[imp. part.]	<u>move</u>	<u>to here</u>	[you]	[imp. part.]	<u>eat</u>

(66) After that year, they married.

poi	kēlā	makahiki	||	male	lāua
[end]	[that	<u>year</u>		[marry]	[they dual]

(67) This pretty woman is mine.

kaʔu	keia	wahine	uʔi
[mine]	[the here]	[woman]	<u>beautiful</u>

(68) If one man stands on top of the head of another, then their height is like that of an elephant.

inā e kū kekahi kanaka ma luna o
 [if verb part. stand] [the-one man] [on top] [of
 ke poʻo o kekahi || a laʻia || like ko
 the head] [of the-one] [at then] [alike] [the-of
 lāua kiʻekiʻe me ko ka elepani
 they-2 height] [with the-of the elephant]

(69) We can glorify him.

hiki iā kākou ke hoʻō nani iā ia
 [can do] [m-the we] [the cause-glory] [m-the him]

(70) There was a god.

aia he akua
 [there] [a god]

(71) You read another new word.

e heluhelu mai ʻoe i kekahi hua - ʻōlelo
 [imp. part. read - read to-here] [you] [to the-one fruit-speech
 hōu
 new]

(73) Eight feet is the height of some and fifteen feet that of others.

ʻewalu kapuaʻi ke kiʻekiʻe o kekahi a he
 [eight feet] [the height] [of the-one][and] [a

ʻumikumamālima ko kekahi
 ten - plus - five] [of the-one]

(72) They live with Pua's father.

noho lāua me ka nukukāne o pua
 [live] [they-dual] [with the parent-male] [of Pua]

(74) You must practice.

pono ke ho'o-ma'a ma'a
 [must] [the cause-accustom-accustom]

(75) You must be patient.

pono ke ho'o - manawa - nui
 [must] [the cause - heart - big]

(76) How much money has he?

?e hia āna kā lā
 [future many] [possession-3rd person] [dollar]

(77) I have no chickens.

a'ohe a'u mau moa
 [not] [possession-first person] [plural chicken]

(78) One meaning of deaf pertains to someone whose hearing is not good.

?o kekahi mana'o o kuli || e pili ana
 [subject the-one meaning] [of deaf] [inf. cling -ing]
 i kekahi kanaka ?a'ole maika'i kona
 [m the-one man] [not] [good] [the-possession-third person]
 lohe ?ana
 hear -ing]

(79) It is the mountain, Mahinui.

?o ia ka mauna mahinui
 [subj. it] [the mountain] [Mahinui]

(80) My younger sibling got five thousand dollars.

loa'a ?elima kaukani kālā i ku'u pōki'i
 [obtain] [five thousand dollar] [m the-my younger sibling]

(81) The hen was stolen by me.

ʔaihue	-ʔia	ka	moa	wahine	e	au
[<u>steal</u>	<u>-was</u>]	[<u>the</u>	<u>chicken</u>	<u>woman</u>]	[<u>by</u>	<u>me.</u>]

(82) It's up to you.

aia	no	ia	iā	ʔoe
[<u>there</u>	<u>indeed</u>]	[<u>it</u>]	[<u>m</u> - <u>the</u>	<u>you</u>]

(83) This owl was Hina's ancestor.

ʔo	keia	pueo	he	kupuna	no	hina
[<u>subj.</u>	<u>the-here</u>	<u>owl</u>]	[<u>a</u>	<u>ancestor</u>]	[<u>past-possession</u>	<u>Hina</u>]

(84) They had one father and two mothers.

hoʔokahi	no	ko	lāua	makuakāne
[<u>one</u>	<u>indeed</u>]	[<u>singular-possession</u>	<u>they-dual</u>	<u>father</u>]

a	ʔelua	makuahine
[<u>and</u>]	[<u>two</u>	<u>mother</u>]

(85) The letters of the alphabet were composed by them.

na	lākou	i	haku	i
[<u>past-possession</u>	<u>they-plural</u>]	[<u>m</u>	<u>compose</u>]	[<u>m</u>

na	hua	palapala	piʔāpā
<u>the-plural</u>	<u>fruit</u>	<u>write-write</u>	<u>alphabet</u>]

(86) Are you older than I?

ʔoi	aku	anei	ou	makahiki
[<u>exceed</u>	<u>from-here</u>]	[<u>perhaps</u>	[<u>your-plural</u>	<u>year</u>]

ma	mua	o	oʔu
[<u>in</u>	<u>front</u>]	[<u>possession</u>	<u>me</u>]

(87) Is Nu'uanu noisier than Manoa?

ʔoi aku anei ke kulikuli' o
 [exceed from-here] [perhaps] [the noise] [of
 nuʔuanu aiʔole mānoa
Nu'uanu] [or Manoa]

(88) Who chose Bill?

na wai i koho iā pili
 [past-possession whom] [m choose] [m-the Bill]

(89) And if some food is not brought, I will decree punishment.

a inā e lawe ʔole mai kekahi //
 [and if] [future (bring not hither)] [the-one]

naʔu no e haʔi i ka hoʔopāʔi
 [by me indeed] [future tell] [m the punish]

(90) The lands indeed will accrue to the government.

ʔo na ʔāina naʔe e lilo i ke aupuni
 [subj. the-pl. (land indeed)] [future accrue] [m the government]

(91) Here is the child before you requesting your support on the approaching election day.

eia ka pua i mua o ʔoukou e
 [here] [the child] [m front] [of you-plural] [inf.

noi aku ana i ka ʔoukou kākoʔo
 (request thither -ing)] [m the you-plural] [support

ʔana mai i ka lā koho e hiki mai ana
 (ing to here)] [m the (day elect)] [inf. arrive (hither -ing)]

(92) At the time that Hawaii is warm, it is winter here.

?o ka wā e wela ana ?o hawaii //
 [subj. the time] [inf. warm -ing] [subj. Hawaii]

?o ia ko ?one?i ho?oilo
 [subj. it] [the (here winter)]

(93) By whom was the letter written?

na wai i kākau ka leka
 [past-possession whom] [m write] [the letter]

(94) To whom was the letter written?

iā wai i kākau-?ia ai ka leka
 [m-the whom] [m write-was -en] [the letter]

(95) In the rainy season, how are the roads?

i ka wā ua // pehea ke ?ano o
 [m the (season rain)] [like-how] [the nature] [of

na alanui
 the-pl. road-big]

(96) At the death of a friend, the bones and the hair were preserved in a bundle.

i ka make ?ana o ka hoaloha //
 [m the die -ing] [of the friend]

e mālama-?ia na iwi me ka lauoho ma
 [inf. preserve-was] [the-pl. bone] [with the hair] [in
 loko o kekahi pū?olo
 within] [of the-one bundle]

(97) I am looking at myself.

ke nānā nei au i aʔu iho
 [the look here] [I] [m (me to-self)]

(98) She talks to herself.

namu ʔo ia iā ia iho
 [talk] [subj. she] [m-the (her to-self)]

(99) "Don't be afraid; rise and come out and meet my chief."

mai makaʔu ʔce // e ku ʔce a e
 [don't fear] [you-sing.] [imp. stand] [you-sing.] [and] [imp.
 komo aku e launa pū me kuʔu aliʔi
 (enter to there)] [imp. (meet together)] [with my chief]

(100) While Aiwahi was looking at the house, a strange, astonishing, and embarrassing thing happened.

iā ʔaiwoʔi e nānā ana i kēlā
 [m-the Aiwahi] [inf. look -ing] [m the-there
 hale // he mea ʔe ke kāhāhā a me
 house] [a thing strange] [the astonishment] [and with
 ka hilahila
 the embarrassment]

RAROTONGAN

2.4. Distinctions in the sound system of Rarotongan have been given (2.2); the structure of Rarotongan from a 'part of speech' point of view has been competently analyzed in a recent series of papers by Buse (1963) who also provides syntactic analysis of sentences in terms of phrases which are again categorized in terms of 'parts of speech' (nominal phrases, verbal phrases, etc.) We are attempting to liberate ourselves from the 'part of speech' approach to Austronesian languages, and in doing so we go directly to sentences. The approach of Buse is virtually as direct; we select from his sentences for our Rarotongan sample. But we are not faced with justifying any 'part of speech' because in phrase interior we do not distinguish beyond the recognition of minor morphemes (lower case m in formula) which do not occur as phrase nucleus and major morphemes (cap M in formula) which do. Further comment on phrase interior is occasioned only when the selection within the phrase determines the function of another phrase in the sentence. When we speak of the function of a given phrase--as being Subject [S phrase], or Object [O phrase], or Verb [V phrase], or Locational [L phrase], and the like--the function is determined by the place of the phrase in the sentence, but the function of the phrase may be also determined by the phrase introducer within the phrase (and certainly not by the M's--the major morphemes which constitute the phrase nucleus, whether or not they are justified as being of one or another 'part of speech' class; even if they are so justified, they can be transformed to another). The sentence profile is said to be different when the phrases of a given sentence are reordered, irrespective of whether the same message is marked in the revised order of phrases (non-contrastive syntax) or whether the message is altered by transformation of phrase order (contrastive syntax).

Sentences (1) to (14), which follow, show the same profile—namely, [V phrase] [S phrase]—but different phrase interiors.

(1) The man falls.

ka	topa	te	tanata
[non-past fall]		[the sg.	<u>man</u>]
m	M	m	M

Each phrase begins with a phrase introducer—one marking time in [V phrase] and, in the [S phrase], number among other distinctions.

(2) My son is going.

ka	ʔaere	tāku	tamaiti
[non-past	<u>go</u>]	[m-m-m=	<u>son</u>]
m	M		M

In the second or [S phrase], the three minor morphemes which add up to my are t-phrase introducer, -ā- paradigmatic constant for alienable possession, and -ku 1st person marker. (Possession is 'alienable' because children can be given away.)

(3) You'll fall.

kā	topa	koe
[non-past	<u>fall</u>]	[<u>you</u>]
m	M	M

In the second or [S phrase], the major morpheme (M) appears without prior phrase introducer. And so in general for [V phrase] [S phrase] profiles in which the M in the second phrase marks 1st, 2nd, or 3rd person.

(4) The clothes got wet.

kua	māʔu	te	kākaʔu
[pf.	<u>wet</u>]	[the	<u>cloth</u>]
m	M	m	M

Compare sentence (1); here, (4), the selection of phrase introducer is /kua/ rather than /ka/.

(5) Tere has gone.

kua	ʔaere	ʔa	tere
[pf.	go]	[the	Tere]
m	M	m	M

Compare (1) and (4) above; here, (5), the selection of phrase introducer is /ʔa/ rather than /te/ which is incompatible with following personal names; the appropriate /ʔa/ is non-committal as to number.

(6) Mary speaks kindly.

kua	tuatua	meitaki	ʔa	mere
[pf.	(speak	kind)]	[the	Mary]
m	(M	M)	m	M

In the [V phrase], the phrase nucleus after phrase introducer is enclosed in parentheses to point up the modified-modifier order of the major morphemes (M M).

(7) They have gone.

kua	ʔaere	rātou
[pf.	move]	[m - M =they]

In the second or [S phrase], the components of the word for they are rā-exclusive and -tou plural.

(8) My parents have come.

kua	ʔaere	mai	tōku	ŋā	metua
[pf.	move	to here]	[m-m-m=	my the pl.	parent]
m	M	m	m	m	M

In the first or [V phrase], the phrase nucleus follows the phrase introducer (m) and precedes a minor morpheme which localizes (but not in [L phrase]

which calls for [m M] structure). In the second or [S phrase], the components of the word for my are t- phrase introducer, -ō-inalienable possession, -ku 1st person.

(9) The woman returned.

i	ʔoki	mai	te	vaʔine
[past	<u>return</u>	<u>to here</u>]	[the	<u>woman</u>]
m	M	m	m	M

(10) The woman was searched for.

kua	kimiʔia	te	vaʔine
[pf.	M-m= <u>searched</u>]	[the	<u>woman</u>]

In the first or [V phrase], the components of the word for searched are /kimi/ search for and /ʔia/ passive. Without this passive suffix, the sentence would mean The woman searched for something.

(11) The clothes were wetted.

kua	māʔūʔia	te	kaakahu
[pf.	M-m= <u>wetted</u>]	[the	<u>cloth</u>]

In [V phrase] the components of the word for wetted are /māʔū/ wet and /ʔia/ passive; if a causative prefix were to precede this word, the sentence would mean The clothes were made wet by someone or something.

(12) Tere was searched for.

kua	kimiʔia	a	tere
[pf.	M-m= <u>search</u>]	[the	<u>Tere</u>]

The second or [S phrase] has as phrase introducer /a/—rather than /te/ as in sentence (10)—because there the phrase nucleus is a personal name.

(13) He was wetted.

kua	mā'ū'ia	ʔaia
[pf.	M-m= <u>wetted</u>]	[<u>he</u>]

Compare sentence (11).

(14) Tere is driving trucks for a living.

e	ʔaka ʔoro	torōka	ana	ʔa	Tere
[<u>m</u>	(m-M= <u>drive</u>	<u>truck</u>)	- <u>ing</u>]	[<u>the</u>	<u>Tere</u>]

In the first or [V phrase] the phrase introducer, glossed m (minor morpheme), is a discontinuous morpheme ending in the minor morpheme glossed -ing—altogether /e ...ana/. The components of the word for drive are /ʔaka/ causative and /ʔoro/ fast—in modified-modifier parentheses: Tere is truck-driving.

Sentences (15) to (21) below share the same profile—namely, [V phrase] [S phrase] [O phrase]—but differ in phrase interiors.

(15) I played the drum.

i	rutu	au	i	te	paʔu
[<u>past</u>	<u>beat</u>]	[<u>i</u>]	[<u>m</u>	<u>the</u>	<u>drum</u>]
m	M	M	m	m	M

Here the first or [S phrase] and the last or [O phrase] have the phrase nuclei preceded by phrase introducer. In the [O phrase] there are two such introducers. The first glossed minor morpheme (m) is incompatible with Subject phrase, and appears in Object and other phrases.

(16) The man hit the ball.

kua	pā	te	tangata	i	te	pōro
[<u>pf.</u>	<u>hit</u>]	[<u>the</u>	<u>man</u>]	[<u>m</u>	<u>the</u>	<u>ball</u>]
m	M	m	M	m	m	M

All three phrases begin with phrase introducers.

(17) The woman searched for the child.

kua	kim ⁱ	te	va?ine	i	te	tamaiti
[pf.	<u>search</u>]	[<u>the</u>	<u>woman</u>]	[<u>m</u>	<u>the</u>	<u>child</u>]
m	M	m	M	m	M	

(18) Tere is driving the truck.

e	?aka ?oro	ana	?a	tere	i	te	torōka
[<u>m</u>	<u>cause-fast</u>	<u>-ing</u>]	[<u>the</u>	<u>Tere</u>]	[<u>m</u>	<u>the</u>	<u>truck</u>]
	m- M	m	m	M	m	M	

This (is not to be confused with a previous sentence whose profile was [V phrase] [S phrase]. Here (18) the last or [O phrase] has two phrase introducers, one glossed minor morpheme (m) for /i/ marking non-subject, the other /te/ which indicates that the morpheme for truck is singular.

(19) The clothes got wet from the rain.

kua	mā?ū	te	kāka?u	i	te	ua
[pf.	<u>wet</u>]	[<u>the</u>	<u>cloth</u>]	[<u>m</u>	<u>the</u>	<u>rain</u>]

This is not to be confused with a previous sentence having profile [V phrase] [S phrase]. The passive suffix in the [V phrase] of that sentence does not appear here (19).

(20) The rain made the clothes wet.

kua	?akamā?ū	te	ua	i	te	kāka?u
[pf.	m-M <u>ake wet</u>]	[<u>the</u>	<u>rain</u>]	[<u>m</u>	<u>the</u>	<u>cloth</u>]

Compare the first or [V phrase] of sentences (19) and (20): the phrase introducer is the same, but here, (20), the components of what is glossed make wet are /?aka/ causative and /mā?ū/ wet.

(21) The woman wrapped up the fish.

kua va?i te va?ine : te ika
 [pf. wrap] [the woman] [m the fish]

Sentences (22) to (27) which follow share the same profile ending in Agentive [Ag. phrase] rather than [O phrase], as above. They not only share the [V phrase] [S phrase] [Ag. phrase] profile, but also (1) an M-m structure of the nucleus of the [V phrase], in which the minor morpheme (m) is one or another of the alternant forms of the passive suffix—/—?ia/ and /?a/ and /ŋa/, and (2) a pair of phrase introducers in the [Ag. phrase] of which the first introducer is glossed by.

(22) The clothes were wetted by the rain.

kua mā?ū?ia te kaka?u e te ua
 [pf. M-m=wetted] [the cloth] [by the rain]

(23) The fish was wrapped by the woman.

kua va?ia te ika e te va?ine
 [pf. M-m=wrapped][the fish] [by the woman]

(24) The child was searched for by the woman.

kua kimi?ia te tamaiti e te va?ine
 [pf. M-m=searched] [the child] [by the woman]

(25) The woman was searched for by the child.

kua kimi?ia te va?ine e te tamaiti
 [pf. M-m=searched] [the woman] [by the child]

(26) The taro were eaten by the pig.

kua kaina te taro e te puaka
 [pf. M-m=eaten] [the taro] [by the pig]

(27) The house was damaged by the wind.

kua ?akakino?ia te ?are e te matani
 [pf. m-M-m=damaged] [the house] [by the wind]

The profile [Ag. phrase] [V phrase] [S phrase] is also possible, as in (28) following;

(28) The child was searched for by the woman.

nā	te	va?ine	i	kimi	te	tamaiti
[by	the	woman]	[past	search]	[the	child]

Sentences (29) and (30) show profile [V phrase] [S phrase] [L phrase]— with Location specified in the final phrase. An [L phrase] occurs in sentences (31a) and (31b) which, however, do not specify [S phrase]; and in (31c) neither [S phrase] nor [L phrase] is specified—only [V phrase].

(29) I live there.

e	no?o	ana	au	ki	kō
[m	stay	-ing]	[I]	[m	there]

(30) Tere went back home.

kua	?oki	?a	tere	ki	te	kāina
[pf.	return]	[the	Tere]	[m	the	home]

(31a) Look at the mountain.

e	?ākara	ki	te	mauṛa
[imper.	look]	[m	the	mountain]

(31b) It got wet from the rain.

kua	mā?ū	i	te	ua
[pf.	wet]	[m	the	rain]

Another free translation might be It got wet in the rain.

(31c) Go away!

?aere	atu
[move	from-here]

M

m

Sentence (32), below, shows the profile [V phrase] [S phrase] [O phrase] [L phrase]—with the last phrase specifying location in time.

(32) Yesterday, I played the drum.

i	rutu	an	i	te	pa?u	i	nana?i
[<u>past</u>	<u>beat</u>] _a	[<u>I</u>] _b	[<u>m</u>	<u>the</u>	<u>drum</u>] _c	[<u>m</u>	<u>yesterday</u>] _d

In this sentence all of the phrases except b begin with phrase introducer— and phrase c and phrase d begin with the same minor morpheme—/i/ for non-subject phrase. The phrases may be reordered to d a b c, without change in message.

Sentences (33) and (34) below, show the profile [V phrase] [S phrase] [O phrase] [I phrase]—with Instrument specified in the final phrase.

(33) The woman beat the child with a stick.

kua	rutu	te	va?ine	i	te	tamaiti
[<u>pf.</u>	<u>beat</u>]	[<u>the</u>	<u>woman</u>]	[<u>m</u>	<u>the</u>	<u>child</u>]
ki	te	rākau				
[<u>m</u>	<u>the</u>	<u>stick</u>]				

All phrases in this sentence begin with at least one phrase introducer.

(34) I hit him with a right.

kua	moto	au	i	ā	ia	ki	te	rima	katau
[<u>pf.</u>	<u>punch</u>]	[<u>I</u>]	[<u>m</u>	<u>the</u>	<u>him</u>]	[<u>m</u>	<u>the</u>	(<u>hand</u>	<u>right</u>)]

Sentences (35) to (56) which follow share the same profile—namely [Comment phrase] [Topic] phrase—but differ in phrase interiors.

(35) His father is Tangi.

kā	tāni	tōna	metua
[<u>specifier</u>	<u>Tangi</u>]	[<u>m-m-m=his</u>	<u>father</u>]

In the second or [Topic phrase] the components for m-m-m are /t/ the and /ō/ inalienable possession (inalienable because a parent is inherited and therefore regarded as inseparable part of one), and /na/ 3rd. person.

(36) That is the new house.

ko tērā te ?are ?ōu
[specifier the-there] [the (house new)]

(37) Here is the ball.

tē ia te pōro
[the-here] [the ball]
m M m M

(38) How big is it?

mei te a?a te ma?ata
[from the what] [the big]

(39) This is a night for mosquitoes.

?e pō namu tēia
[a (night mosquito)] [the-here]

A closer translation might be This is a mosquito-ish night.

(40) He has come here from the dance.

mei te ?ura mai ?a ia
[from the dance to here] [the he]

(41) It is shaped like a banana leaf.

mei te rau meika te tu
[from the (leaf banana)] [the shape]

(42) Where has Tere come from?

mei ?ea mai ?a tere
[from where to here] [the Tere]

(43) I'll be dancing.

?ei te ?ura au
[at the dance] [I]

(44) Mary is a kind-spoken woman.

e va?ine tuatua meitaki ?a mere
[a (woman speak kind)] [the Mary]

(45) Where are my parents?

tei ?ea ōku metua
[at where] [m-m-m-my parent]

In the second or [Topic phrase], the components for m-m-m are ZERO for plural of what is possessed (contrasting with /t/ in tōku my singular) and -ō- inalienable possession, and -ku 1st person.

(46) The beer is at home.

tei te kāinga te kava
[at the home] [the beer]

(47) What are you doing?

tei te a?a koe?
[at the what] [you]

(48) Whose picture is that?

nā ?ai tēnā tūtū
[M-m-possessor who] [the-there picture]

The free translation as given, (48), is ambiguous in English, for it could be read as asking who was the owner or who was the model of the picture.

The Rarotonga [Topic phrase] specifies by component for M-m that /n/ means of whom and /ā/ means alienable—hence who was the owner of what could be sold.

(49) Whose picture is that?

nō	ʔai	tēnā	tutū
[M-m=possessor	<u>who</u>]	[the-there	<u>picture</u>]

The ambiguity in English between (48) and (49) is resolved here, (49), by the specification of components for M-m, namely /n/ of whom and /ō/ inalienable—hence who is the model of the picture (if I pose for a picture, the picture and I are inseparable).

(50) Where is Bill?

tei	ʔea	ʔa	piri
[<u>at</u>	<u>where</u>]	[<u>the</u>	<u>Bill</u>]

(51) Rarotonga is a verdant island.

ʔe	ʔenua	ruperupe	ʔa	rarotonga
[<u>a</u>	(<u>land</u>	<u>lush</u>)]	[<u>the</u>	<u>Rarotonga</u>]

(52) There goes Tere.

tērā	atu	ʔa	tere
[the-(there	<u>away</u>)]	[<u>the</u>	<u>Tere</u>]

(53) They are siblings.

ʔe	teina	tuakana	rāva
[<u>a</u>	(<u>younger sibling</u>	<u>older sibling</u>)	[<u>they-two</u>]

The modified-modifier order by gloss in parentheses is reminiscent of Chinese compounds for kinship terms.

(54) His wife has the knife.

tei	tāna	vaʔine	te	mātipi
[<u>at</u>	m-m-m= <u>his</u>	<u>woman</u>]	[<u>the</u>	<u>knife</u>]

The components for what is glossed m-m-m are /t/ the, and /ā/ alienable (alienable since a wife is not inherited); and /na/ 3rd person.

(55) You're truly Chinese.

ā	te	tinitō	rāi	koe
[<u>possessor</u>	<u>the</u>	(<u>China</u>	<u>exactly</u>)]	[<u>you</u>]

(56) I am here; he is over there.

tei	konei	au ||	tei	kō	ʔa-ʔa
[<u>at</u>	<u>the-here</u>]	[<u>I</u>]	[<u>at</u>	<u>yonder</u>]	[<u>the-he</u>]

This is an instance of one sentence with the profile [Comment phrase] [Topic phrase] occurring both before and after pause juncture (//).

Just as Location is marked by ar [L phrase] after [V phrase] [S phrase] beginning sentences, so also [L phrase] follows [Comment] [Topic] beginning sentences. Sentence (57) below exemplifies profile [C phrase] [T phrase] [L phrase] while sentence (58) exemplifies [C phrase] [T phrase] [L phrase] [L phrase].

(57) The taro patch in this place is mine alone.

naku	'na	te	repo	tavari	i	tēia
[(<u>m-m-M</u> = <u>mine</u> <u>alone</u>)]	[<u>the</u>	(<u>swamp</u>	<u>muddy</u>)]	[<u>in</u>	<u>the-here</u>	

ŋāʔi
[place]

The components for m-m-M in the first or [C phrase] are for /n/ of whom, and /ā/ alienable possession (alienable because not inherited) and /ku/ 1st person; the parentheses here and in the following [T phrase] show modified-modifier order.

(58) This land, from the sea to the mountain, belongs to me.

nōku	tēia	ʔenua	mei	te	tai
[<u>m-m-M</u>]	[<u>the-here</u>	<u>land</u>]	[<u>from</u>	<u>the</u>	<u>sea</u>]
ki	te	mauŋa			
[<u>n</u>	<u>the</u>	<u>mountain</u>]			

The components for m-m-M are /n/ of whom, and /ō/ inalienable possession (inalienable because the land possessed is inherited), and /ku/ 1st person.

Sentences (59) to (63) which follow show two Topic phrases—generally in an appositional relation to each other—after the Comment phrase.

Other sentences not cited show other relationships between pairs of Topic phrases, but still share the profile [C phrase] [T phrase] [T phrase].

(59) That lei being woven over there is yours.

nō ^o ou	tērā	ʔei	e	tāviria	mai	ra
[m-m-M=yours]	[the-there]	lei]	[inf.	(M-m=woven	to here)	yonder]

(60) In doing the hula Mere is a fast swaying girl.

ʔe	tamāʔine	ukauka	ʔa	mere	i	te	ʔura
[a	(girl	(M-M)=sway)]	[the	Mere]	[m	the	hula]

(61) The father of that child is Tangi.

ko	tapi	te	metua	o	tērā	tamaiti
[m	Tangi]	[the	father]	[m	the-there	child]

(62) Tere is an expert at building canoes.

ʔe	taʔuna	ʔa	tere	nō	te	taʔani	vaka
[a	expert]	[the	Tere]	[m-m=whose	the	(make	canoe)]

The components for m-m in the final [Topic phrase] are /n/ of whom and /ō/ inalienable possession (inalienable because expertness is an inseparable part of the canoe builder called Tere).

(63) That's where the birds roost.

ko	te	tauranga	tēnā	o	te	manu
[m	the	landing]	[the-there]	[m	the	birds]

In terms of typological frequency, the type of sentence that begins with [Comment phrase] [Topic phrase] and the type that begins with [V phrase] [S phrase] are just about equal.

The order of the latter is reversed when the first phrase of the sentence marks negative—[Neg. phrase]. Sentences (64) and (65), which follow, show the profile [Neg. phrase] [S phrase] [V phrase].

(64) The woman did not return.

kāre te va?ine i oki mai
[not] [the woman] [past (return to here)]

Selection of /kāre/ for [Neg. phrase] is made because this sentence is non-imperative.

(65) Don't you chatter!

?auraka kōtou e komakoma
[not] [m-M=you] [m chatter]

Selection of /?auraka/ for [Neg. phrase] of an imperative sentence is in concordance with the phrase introducer of the final [V phrase]. In the medial [S phrase], the components for m-M are /kō/ exclusive, and /tou/ plural person.

MAORI, AND THE LANGUAGE SITUATION IN NEW ZEALAND

2.5. The southernmost of the islands inhabited by a Polynesian group, New Zealand, consists of two large and one small island, which cover an area of 103,000 sq. miles, separated by narrow straits. The main islands are aligned N-S; they are named North Island, South Island and Stewart Island respectively. And 500 miles to the east of the South Island is the Chatham Island; the other small islands off the New Zealand coastline are unimportant for our purposes.

Today, New Zealand's population exceeds 2,500,000. As has been done by the Government statisticians, New Zealand's population can be divided into seven ethnic groupings;

Europeans	2,500,000
Maoris	160,000
Samoans, Rarotongans, other Polynesians	10,000
Chinese	7,000
Indians	3,000

plus an indeterminate number of peoples from the U.S.A., Japan, South-east Asia, Solomon Islands and Melanesia, Scandinavia and countries in southern Europe.

All but a small minority of the 2,500,000 Europeans are of British descent. Most British New Zealanders are third, fourth or fifth generation descendants of settlers who began arriving from 1820 onwards. By the 1870's

the British population had, in numbers, exceeded that of the indigenous native peoples — the Maoris — while there was also a large (about 3,000) homogeneous group of Austrian Dalmatians who knew little English and had come to exploit the New Zealand gum-fields; the remnants of ancient kauri pine forests. By 1870 also, English was the compulsory language of instruction in all schools. Today, English is the language of commerce, education, urban trade, and non-cultural group activities where there are white New Zealanders (Pakehas) present.

Emigration from Europe has also come from France, Germany, Denmark, Austria and Canada in the latter half of the nineteenth century, but the passing of several generations has resulted in the loss of the knowledge of languages of provenience and the adoption of English. After World War II, however, and also after the communists crushed the abortive revolts of the Polish and Hungarian peoples, refugees from the war devastated areas of Europe and from Greece, Italy and Spain began coming to New Zealand again, as welcome immigrants.

Not only was this welcomed, not only did the successive governments actively sponsor immigration, but it also became a part of the platform of both political parties; numbers of immigrants sponsored were kept and quoted. From 1950 through 1961, the numbers of new Europeans varied each year from 17,000 to 29,000. Most of these were multi-lingual (say three or more languages); on their arrival, they and their families spoke their own ethnic language. Most dwell in the cities, especially the four main ones —

Auckland (pop. 500,000), Wellington (250,000), Christchurch (200,000) and Dunedin (120,000). In Auckland several ethnic clubs or societies have been formed based mainly on the desire to perpetuate their ethnic tongues, e.g. The French Club, The Spanish Club, Goethe Society (German), Nederland Society (Dutch), the Baltics, and others. Those from Greece, Hungary and Poland do not form organized societies, but instead meet at informal parties.

About 85% of the European population live in the towns and cities, while about 65% of the Maori population live in rural areas. This does not mean, however, that there are large areas inhabited solely by Maoris, since the remaining 15% of Europeans living in rural areas (375,000) are still over twice as many as the total Maori population. There are less than five communities in New Zealand today where there is not at least one European family.

For census purposes 'a Maori is a person belonging to the aboriginal race of New Zealand, and includes a half-caste and a person intermediate in blood between half-caste and persons of pure descent from that race.'

Strictly speaking, because of long-term and increasing intermarriage, the number of 'pure' Maori should be decreasing, while — in terms of the Census Act — the number of persons between half or more European should increase. In actual fact most Maoris who are less than half European declare themselves as full Maori (although there is no slur in being half), while those who are more than half European pass as half Maori.

The essential symbol of being Maori — regardless of amount of blood — is to speak the Maori language. Over 135,000 of the 160,000 'official' Maoris are able to speak Maori.

Since 1870, there has been a form of compulsory education which means that the present elders have had at least a smattering of formally taught English.

To understand the function of Maori — a language which today has no commercial or educational value; a language which despite the impact of English over the space of over 140 years and the impact of having it barred from schools and playgrounds between 1870-1930 is still spoken by a large majority of the people, who have also for several decades been intermarrying with Europeans — to understand the function one must look at Maori traditional history and post-European history.

The pre-contact history and tradition has already been discussed in Indo-Pacific Fascicle One (1,2). That history and tradition remains alive in New Zealand today where it is diffusing rapidly from the Maori to monolingual English speakers.

There were no full scale wars with the British; those battles that did occur rarely turned into routs and hence both groups could claim victories. In fact, one of the reasons for the continuation of Maori is that the people feel that they have never been defeated; and, therefore, that their way of fighting and living is as good as that of the British. There is also the feeling that Maori culture is something that is of value and that the language is the fountain of the ethos of Maoritanga (the sense of being Maori).

The Maori language has now become the focus for Maori nationalism. In the last ten years courses in Maori have been instituted in many primary schools, in high schools and in the Teachers' Training Colleges. Furthermore, it now carries credits in Auckland University as 'a foreign language for degree requirements'. Furthermore, adult education classes in Maori are spreading to many towns and cities, with some classes — wholly European — numbering 140.

In fact, the major controversy is not whether the language should be taught, but which system of spelling should be used. Maori has an SGC of vocalic length which was formerly marked by a macron over the long vowel, then unmarked, then -more recently- marked with a double vowel. About half of the Maori people are against marking this by doubling vowels, while the other half are either not interested in the controversy, or else are teachers of Maori and have adopted the double vowel system. Auckland University has adopted the double vowel system.

There is no standard Maori, nor is any dialect recognized as the teaching standard. Teachers use the dialect of the area they teach in (in any case, dialect differences are not extensive) while examiners of state examinations are chosen because of their knowledge of all major dialects.

Economic migrations of Maori individuals and groups from their natal lands, the ceremonial visits between groups, the movement of individuals around the country (for religious, business, sports, concert, pleasure, touring, etc.), the introduction of Maori into schools, teacher's colleges and

universities, the ceremonial gatherings which are attended by leaders of different groups and tribes, the spread of talks in Maori in 'the voice that spans the skies' (the radio) — all this has spread knowledge of dialects; it is a sign of knowledge (and creates emotional bonds) to address groups in their own dialectal idiosyncracies. There is no standard Maori; there is no standard way of enunciation like BBC English. This means that an overall unified structure which won't offend can be constructed without fear; in fact, there is no controversy about which dialect is the dialect. (The great controversy in the history of Maori is in spelling, not in pronunciation.)

Formal language is non-casual; colloquial style is appropriate only for what are identified as casual occasions in Maori culture. The hearer is tolerant of lapses in colloquial style, of mixture of dialect, and does not rate one Maori dialect as better than another. There is virtually no correction or awareness of Maori grammaticalness, so long as the Maori speaker is engaged in producing casual utterance.

Let the speaker launch into any one of the formal styles and this spirit of tolerance vanishes; the hearers become critically alert, as soon as he hears any one begin an incantation or a recitation, a speech, a chant, lament, or war dance; or even the language of modern folk music, and of shearing and party songs.

Incantations are formal preambles to speeches. They are said in a distinctive manner and, therefore, are isolable from other linguistic forms. Tone is higher than in casual speech; tone falls about a semitone towards

the end of each breath-group of utterances with studied quavering and gliding effects, while at the end of the incantation, the voice becomes louder, the tone higher and words faster, with people joining in if certain phrases are used. The incanted cadence is regular, but without the measured beat of the haka (war-dance).

Recitations of the incantation type have to be word-perfect, without long pauses except for breath. Since the majority of recitations are known to others besides the speaker, variant pauses, pronunciation and stress mistakes, omission of phrases or words are regarded as bad omens; the speaker loses face; he may be studiously corrected by someone else in a later speech.

Incantations all refer to the pre-European past — usually to aspects of the voyage of ancestors from the legendary Polynesian homeland, Hawaiki, to New Zealand. Most incantations are said to have been composed by Hawaiki ancestors, or by the commander or ritual priest of the ancestral canoe.

The structure of incantations does not differ from that of casual speech, apart from the copious use of imperatives. Formalism in the body of a speech (whether preceded or not by an incantation) is marked by:

- the prescriptive direct farewells to the dead;
- the formal references or greetings to the ceremonial meeting house, or meeting ground;
- direct references to or else greetings to important persons present, by genealogical affiliation to the speaker and by personal name;

use of metaphors, similes, tribal sayings, and Maori proverbs in the body of the speech.

Formal speeches and incantations share with casual speech one monolithic grammar.

Chants and laments and shouted war dances are performed by groups, usually relatives of the speaker, and mark the end of each speech. (He koorero te kai a te rangatira, he waiata hei kiinaki: speeches are the food of chiefs, the song is the relish.) Sung chants and laments have $1/4$, $1/2$ and $1/8$ tone changes of melody which have been transcribed in musical notation. The haka (war dance), which is spoken, has a regular beat kept in time with the words by stamping the right foot.

The structure of laments, dirges, chants and war dances differs from those forms mentioned above, because of the freedom of the composer to alter word arrangement, to omit morphemes, to extend the length of syllables usually short and vice-versa.

Stylistically these songs and chants use allusions, similes and metaphors copiously, to the extent that each such song has a separate meta-language from that of others.

The small tonal variations, the variant grammatical constructions and the obscure use of words and the use of words that are obsolete is often the basis for the various assumptions that 'real', 'pure', 'classical', 'semi-classical', 'deep' Maori was of this type; that present-day Maori is no longer 'pure'; and that present-day speakers of Maori have distorted and corrupted

the language of their forefathers.

In the context of Maori society and culture, anything regarded as 'classical' is synonymous with pre-European. Classical Maori culture is reconstructed with the aid of archaeology as well as texts collected by first-contact Europeans, or written by Maori scholars who were made literate by missionaries. The traditional history, legends, and customary beliefs written in Maori by these early writers do not differ phonologically, or morpho-syntactically from tales and stories written in the same language by contemporary authors. In vocabulary, later works show the influence of English, assimilated into Maori.

To equate classical Maori with formal style also distorts the facts. Formal language is restricted to formal gatherings, and it differs from informal colloquial speech solely in style.

Casual style is concerned with questions, answers, comments and conversations about aspects of the bicultural modern world — with all that this implies in terms of European techniques, artifacts and processes which have been introduced into the Maori world. The English language is dominant, and each new object and process has an English name.

This expanded Maori consists of Maori patterns with a predominance of Maori words, but with occasional English words filling the Polynesian slots. However, the alternation of a span of Maori between medial junctures, then a span of English to complete the utterance, is used in some areas, especially by school children.

All this does not mean that there are two contrastive types of speech, the formal language spoken by the elders and the colloquial by the younger Maori, though this is postulated by the Beagleholes. The point the Beagleholes missed was that the elders use colloquial Maori on informal occasions (probably when they are not present since courtesy would then require that they use English) while children, when they are 'playing orators' use the language, the actions and the strutting of speakers of non-casual Maori.

The language of modern folk music is more formal than that of colloquial Maori, but without the allusions of more ancient chants. The music is derived from modern popular songs — usually American — while the stylized hand actions done simultaneously by members of the troupe is typically Polynesian.

Modern shearing and party songs of a humorous and burlesque nature use modern tunes and deliberately mix Maori and English words and phrases to obtain comical effects — not only because of the structure, but also because of the meaning.

The distinction between an eastern and western dialect of Maori spoken in North Island today is still discernable. Despite the leveling of dialects noted above, there is still a response to local features which may well be reminiscent of former tribal area characterizations. The following notes three such for Western, four for Eastern, and three for mixed dialects that are centrally located in North Island, New Zealand. South Island Maori is now extinct; the Maori in South Island today are immigrants from North Island.

Western Dialect:

1. Te Aupouri and Ngapuhi in North Auckland Peninsula
2. Waikato - Maniapoto in South of Auckland
3. Wanganui River and Taranaki in Southwest coast of North Island

Eastern Dialect:

1. Ngai te rangi, Ngati-awa,
Te Whakatohea, Tuhoe of Bay of Plenty and its hinterland
2. Te Whanau a Apanui and Ngati-porou of East Coast Peninsula
3. Rongowhakaata of Poverty Bay
4. Ngati-kahungunu of Hawke's Bay and the Wairarapa

Centrally located dialects including features of east and west:

1. Te Arawa of the hot lakes district round Rotorua
2. Ngati-Tuwharetoa of the shores of Lake Taupo
3. Ngati-maru of Hauraki plains Coromandel Peninsula

The following sample of Maori sentences is from Hohepa (in press).

In general, these sentences are like the profiles already noted for Rarotonga, above. Thus, the first group of Maori sentences which follow, (1) to (12), exemplify the profile [V phrase] [S phrase].

(1) The man has finished.

kua mutu te tangata

[pf] [end] [the] [man]

m M m M

(2) Mary has gone.

kua haere a mere
 [pf go] [the Mary]
 m M m M

(3) We walked.

i haere raro maaua
 [past (go below)] [m-M=we]

In the second or [S phrase], the components for m-M glossed we are /maa/ exclusive and /ua/ dual person.

(4) My youngest child sleeps.

kua moe taku pootiki
 [pf sleep] [m-m-m=my youngest child]

In the [S phrase] the components of the word for my are /t/ the and /a/ alienable possession ('alienable' because children can be given away) and /ku/ first person.

(5) This good horse ran fast.

i oma horo teenei hoiho pai
 [past (run fast)] [the-here (horse good)]

A closer translation might be This good horse fast-ran. The parentheses in each phrase show the modified-modifier order, preceded by phrase introducer.

(6) This good horse is running.

e oma ana te hoiho pai nei
 [m run -ing] [the (horse good here)]
 [m M m]

The phrase introducer is discontinuous with the morpheme glossed -ing after the major morpheme: /e ... ana/.

(7) The bird kept flying.

e rere haere tonu ana te nmanu

[m (fly go continue) ing] [the bird]

(8) That dog ran here, barking.

i oma tautau haere mai teeraa kurii

[past (run bark-bark go to here)] [the-there dog]

(9) Mary was left behind.

i fakareerea a mere
[past m-M-m = left] [the Mary]

The components m-M-m glossed left are /faka/ causative and reere leave behind and /a/ passive.

(10) The big shark was killed.

i patua te mājoo nui

[past M-m = killed] [the (shark big)]

The components of M-m glossed killed are /patu/ kill and /a/ passive.

(11) Jim and companions were chased.

i aruarumia a hemi maa

[past (M-M)-m = chased [the Jim etc.]

m m M m

In formula, reduplication is inclosed in parentheses with the repeated member separated by hyphen, as (M-M)-m for (chase-chase)-passive.

(12) Jim and his companions came here secretly.

ka	haere	garo	mai	a	hēmi	maa
[<u>inceptive</u>	(<u>move</u>	<u>lost</u>	<u>to here</u>)]	[<u>the</u>	<u>Jim</u>	<u>etc.</u>]
m	M	M	m	m	M	m

In the first or [V phrase], the order in parentheses is modified-modifier-modifier.

The next group of Maori sentences which follow, generally end in locational phrase — [L phrase]. The favorite order is the profile [V phrase] [S phrase] [L phrase], but this may be reordered to [V phrase] [L phrase] [S phrase].

(13) John went to the mountains.

ka	haere	a	hoone	ki	gaa	maauga
[<u>inceptive</u>	<u>move</u>]	[<u>the</u>	<u>John</u>]	[<u>in</u>	<u>the-plural</u>	<u>mountain</u>]

(14) I am returning home.

e	hoki	ana	ahau	ki	te	kaaiqa
<u>m</u>	<u>return</u>	<u>ing</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>m</u>	<u>the</u>	<u>home</u>

(15) They entered the house.

ka	hou	atu	raatou	ki	te	fare
[<u>inceptive</u>	(<u>enter</u>)	<u>to there</u>)]	[<u>m-M</u>]	[<u>m</u>	<u>the</u>	<u>house</u>]

(16) They are carefully descending into this big monster's cave.

e	aata	heke	iho	ana	raatou	ki	teenei
[<u>m</u>	<u>careful</u>	<u>descend</u>	<u>to here</u>	<u>ing</u>]	[<u>m-M</u> = <u>they</u>]	[<u>m</u>	<u>the-here</u>

rua tanifa nui

cave monster big

(17) The tree crashed to the ground.

i papahoro te raakau ki te fenua

[past crash] [the tree] [in the ground]

(18) The little boy ran weeping to school.

ka oma tangi haere te tamaiti ki te kura

[m run cry go] [the child] [to the school]

(19) The teachers climbed directly to the mountain summit.

ka piki tonu atu gaa maahita ki te taumata

[m climb direct to-there] [the-plural teachers] [m the summit]

The following group of sentences shows the profile [V phrase] [S phrase] [O phrase]. This profile can also be re-ordered to [V phrase] [O phrase] [S phrase].

(20) The boy knocked on the door.

i paatootoo te tamaiti i te kuaha

[past knock] [the child small] [m the door]

In the last or [O phrase], what has been glossed m, is a non-subject introducer.

(21) He saw the box.

ka kite ia i te pouaka

[inceptive see] [3rd person singular] [m the box]

(22) This girl fell off that horse.

i taka teenei kootiro i teeraa hoiho
 [past fall] [the-here girl] [m the-there horse]

(23) The mother is searching for her child.

e kimi ana te faaea i taana tamaiti
 [modal seek ing] [the mother] [m m-m-m=her child-small]

In the last or [O phrase] the components of m-m-m are /t/ the, /aa/ alienable possession, and /na/ 3rd person.

(24) The big children were picking up the scattered berries.

e kohikohi ana naa tamariki i naa
 [modal collect-collect ing] [the-plural child-plural] [m the-plural
 hua raakau patere
 (fruit tree spill)]

(25) All of them fell off this large rock.

i taka iho raatou katoa i te toka nui nei
 [past fall to-down] [m-m=they all] [m the rock big here]

In the second or [S phrase] the components of m-m are /raa/ exclusive and /tou/ plural.

(26) The boy has spilt the water.

kua patere te wai i te tamaiti
 [pf spill] [the water] [m the boy]

A more literal translation for sentence (26) would be the water was spilt
by the boy.

(27) The kumara shoots were planted by the workers.

i fakatoogia ŋaa t'upu kuumara e ŋaa
 [past m-M-m=planted] [the-plural (plant kuumara)] [by the-plural
 kaimahi
 m-M]

In the first or [V phrase] the components of m-M-m are /faka/ causative,
 /too/ plant, and /ŋia/ passive.

(28) The clothes are being unfolded by those women.

e fakahorahia mai ana ŋa kaakahu e
 [modal m-M-m=spread to-here ing] [the-plural cloth] [by
 aua waahine
 m-m=before mentioned woman-plural]

In the first or [S phrase] the components of m-M-m are /faka/ causative,
 /hora/ spread, /hia/ passive. In the third or [Ag phrase] the components
 of m-m are ZERO plural (contrasting with /t/ in /taua/ those singular)
 and /aua/ mentioned previously.

(29) The man had been taken by the police.

kua taria te tanata e ŋaa pirihimana
 [pf. M-m=taken] [the man] [by the plural policeman]

(30) The clothes were being washed by the washer.

e horoia ana ŋaa kaakahu e te mihiini
 [modal M-m=washed ing] [the plural cloth] [by the (machine
 horoi kaakahu
 wash cloth)]

(31) The man hit the dog.

kua patua te kurii e te tanata

[pf M-m=hit] [the dog] [by the man]

(32) He was taken prisoner by the enemies.

ka man hereheretia ia e nga hoariri

[inceptive catch M-M-m=tied] [he] [by the-plural enemy]

In sentence (32), in the first or [V phrase] the components of M-M-m are /here/ tie, /here/ tie, and /tia/ passive.

(33) The sow was tied by him.

kua herea te faereeree e ia

[pf M-m=tied] [the sow] [by him]

(34) The woman washed the clothes.

i horoia nga kaakahu e nga waahine

[past M-m=washed] [the-plural cloth] [by the-plural woman-plural]

(35) The wild horse was held by that man mentioned previously.

e puritia ana te hoiho e taua

[modal M-m=hold ing] [the horse] [by m-m=that aforementioned

tanata

man]

(36) Let him be overcome by sleep.

tukua ia kia warea e te moe

[M-m=allow] [him] [be M-m=overcome] [by the sleep]

(37) The red book had already been taken by his older brother.

kua riro noa atu te pukapuka fero i toona
 [pf take previous from here] [the hook red] [by m-m-m=his
 tuakana
 older sibling]

In the third or [Ag phrase] the components of m-m-m are /t/ the singular,
 /oo/ inalienable possession, /na/ 3rd person.

(38) The husband was accompanied here by his children,

i arahina mai te taane e aana tamariki
 [past m-M=lead to here] [the husband] [by m-m-m=his child-plural]

In the third or [Ag phrase] the components of m-m-m are ZERO plural,
 /aa/ alienable possession, /na/ 3rd person.

The following group of sentences has the profilé [Agphrase] [V phrase]
 [O phrase], and this profile can also be reordered non-contrastively to
 [Agphrase] [O phrase] [V phrase].

(39) It was the man who beat the dog.

naa te tagata i patu te kurii
 [m-m=by the man] [past hit] [the dog]

In the first or [Agphrase] what has been glossed m-m has as its components
 /n/ past and /aa/ alienable possession.

(40) It is the man who will beat the dog.

maa te tagata e patu te kurii
 [m-m=by the man] [future hit] [the dog]

In the first or [Agphrase], the components of m-m are /m/ future, /aa/
alienable possession.

(41) He can carry this one.

maana teenei e tari

[m-m-M=he] [m-M=this] [m carry]

In the first or [Agphrase] the components of m-m-M are /m/ future, /aa/ alienable possession, and /na/ 3rd person.

(42) He brought that.

naana teeraa i tari mai

[m-m-M=he] [m-M=that] [past carry to-here]

A closer translation for sentence (42) might be it was he who brought that.

(43) This tribe can complete that beautiful carved meeting house yonder.

maa te iwi nei e fakaoti te fare fakairo

[m-m the people here] [future m-M] [the (house carve

pai raa

beautiful) yonder]

(44) John burnt the weeds.

naa hoone i tahu naa taru

[m-m=by John] [past burn] [the -plural weed]

Sentence (45) shows the profile [V phrase] [S phrase.] [Possessive phrase], while sentences (46) and (47) show profile [V phrase] [O phrase] [Possessive phrase].

(45) Matthew's house was burnt.

kua tahuna te fare o matiu

[pf M-m = burnt] [the house] [inalienable possession Matthew]

In the first or [V phrase] the components for M-m are /tahu/ burn and /na/ passive.

(46) Give me this horse's saddle cloth.

hoomai te faariki o teenei hoiho
[give to here] [the cover] [inalienable possession the-here horse]

(47) Bring the cows here for this man.

inauria mai naa kau maa teenei tagata
[M-m = bring to here] [the plural cow] [m-m the-here man]

In the first or [V phrase] the components for M-m are /mau/ carry and /ria/ passive. For the third or [Possessive phrase] the components for what is glossed m-in are /m/ nonpast and /aa/ inalienable possession.

The following group of sentences has the profile [Negative phrase] [S phrase] [V phrase]; this is the favorite order. The alternative profile, [Negative phrase] [V phrase] [S phrase], does not change the message for the same selection of words when ordered with [S phrase] following immediately after [Negative phrase]; hence such reordering is a matter of non-contrastive syntax.

(48) You did not listen.

kaahore koutou i fakarongo
[not-descriptive] [m-M = you] [past m-M = listen]

In the second or [S phrase] the components for m-M are /kou/ 2nd person and /tou/ plural. In the following phrase, the components for m-M are /faka/ causative and /roŋo/ sense.

(49) He will never return.

e kore rawa ia e hoki mai
[future (not very)] [he] [future (return to here)]

(50) He was not completely dead.

kaahore ia i mate rawa
[not descriptive] [he] [past die very]

(51) The man will not know.

kaahore teenaa tarata e moohio
[not descriptive] [the-there man] [future know]

(52) The dog didn't hear.

kiihai te kurii i rongo
[not past] [the dog] [past listen]

The following group of sentences has the profile [Negative phrase]
[S phrase] [V phrase] [O phrase] . An alternative profile in non-contrastive
syntax is [Negative phrase] [V phrase] [S phrase] [O phrase] . The previous
profile of sentences (48) to (52), differ from the profiles of the following sentences
merely in not specifying the object by final [O phrase] .

(53) The man did not meet Peter.

kiihai te tarata i tuutaki i a pita
[not-past] [the man] [past see] [m the Peter]

(54) Peter did not see the man.

kiihai a pita i kite i te tarata
[not-past] [the Peter] [past see] [m the man]

(55) I haven't seen John.

kaahore ahau i kite i a hoone

[not descriptive] [I] [past see] [m the John]

(56) Don't you hit him.

kaua koe e patu i a ia

[not imperative] [you] [future hit] [m the him]

(57) Don't you hit the cow.

kaua koe e patu i te kau

[not imperative] [you] [future hit] [m the cow]

(58) I will not be defeated by John.

e kore ahau e raru i a hoone

[future not] [I] [future defeat] [m the John]

(59) They will not expedite the betrothal.

e kore raatou e fakahaere i te tomo

[future not] [m-M = they] [future m-M = expedite] [m the betrothal]

In the second or [S phrase] the components for m-M are /raa/ exclusive pos-session and /tou/ plural.

(60) The fishhook was not taken by the fish.

kiihai te matau i riro i te ika

[not past] [the fishhook] [past take] [m the fish]

A more literal translation would be The fishhook did not take the fish.

The following group of sentences has the profile [Comment phrase]

[Topic phrase]. The two most commonly expressed sentence profiles in

Maori are this one — [C phrase] [T phrase] — and the first profile mentioned above, [V phrase] [S phrase].

(61) This is the chief.

ko te rangatira teenei

[non-subject the chief] [m-M = this]

(62) He is at the house.

kei te fare ia

[present the house] [he]

(63) My older brother is Peter.

ko pita tooku tuakana

[non-subject Peter] [m-m-m = my older brother]

In the second or Topic phrase] the components for m-m-m are /t/ the, /oo/ inalienable possession, and /ku/ first person.

(64) This girl here is the conceited one.

ko te kootiro fakahiihi nei teenei

[non-subject the (girl conceit) here] [m-M = this]

(65) John was at this restaurant.

i te fare kai nei a hoone

[past the (house eat) here] [the John]

(66) This is a fast running horse.

he hoiho oma horo teenei

[a (horse run fast)] [the-here]

(67) John was at the seaside.

i te taha moana a hoone

[past the side-sea] [the John]

(68) This horse is a man-killer.

he hoiho patu tanata teenei

[a (horse kill man)] [the-here]

A more literal translation might be This is a man-killing horse.

(69) I am resting.

kei te okioki ahau

[present the rest] [I]

(70) Never mind that trip.

hei aha teenaa haere

[as what] [the-there go]

In the first or [Comment phrase] /hei aha/ may be understood one way —

never mind in a declarative sentence; but another way — what for in an

interrogative sentence: What is that trip for?

(71) Perhaps it isn't a shark.

ehara pea i te manoo

[not imperative perhaps] [m the shark]

(72) This is the big river.

ko teenei te awa nui

[non-subject the-here] [the (river big)]

(73) This black cat had been searching for rats.

i te rapu kiore te poti manu nei

[past the search rat] [the (cat black) here]

The remaining sentences (74)-(77) show the profile [Comment phrase]
[Topic phrase] [Possessive phrase].

(74) This is Turi's boy.

ko te tamaiti teenei a turi

[non-subject the child-small] [the-here] [alienable possession Turi]

(75) The tears of the widow were like a waterfall.

me he wairere ʔaa roimata o te

[like a waterfall] [the-plural tear] [inalienable possession the

pouaru

widow].

(76) Huia is the best girl for doing action songs.

ko huia te kootiro tino aataahua moo te mahi

[non-subject Huia] [the (girl most beautiful)] [m-m the work

waiata - aa - riʔa

sing-alienable possession-hand]

In the third or [Possessive phrase] the components for m-m are /m/ non-past and /oo/ inalienable possession.

(77) How high is your horse?

peehea te nui o toou hoiho

[like-what] [the big] [inalienable possession m-m-m= your horse]

In the third or [Possessive phrase] the components for m-m-m are /t/ the, and /oo/ inalienable possession, and /u/ second person. A more literal translation might be The height of your horse is what?

The following notes on the structure of Maori are from Biggs (1961).

Morphemes are divided into two classes:

1. isolable morph which can fill nucleus slot is a stem — these run into the thousands
2. all non-stem morphemes are minor morphemes — these total less than 70.

Nucleus slot may be filled by

1. all stems
2. stem surrogates
3. minor morphemes of decade classes 10 and 210.

All stems occur only in nucleus slot.

Minor morphemes of 10 and 210 (except 214) occur only in nucleus slots and are called: nuclear minor morphemes.

Other minor morphemes which can occur in peripheral slot are called: peripheral minor morphemes.

Minor morphemes are further classified as to whether they occur before or after the nucleus.

1. preposed minor morphemes
2. postposed minor morphemes (but included here are some morphemes which occur before the nucleus as well).

Morphemic material in the nucleus slot is called the nucleus. A nucleus may consist of: a. a single stem; b. a stem plus nuclear minor morphemes; c. two or more stems; d. two or more stems plus nuclear minor morphemes; e. a combination of minor morphemes as a stem surrogate.

Preposed minor morphemes are numbered from the stem (decades 10 - 90 +).

Postposed minor morphemes are numbered from the stem (decades 210 - 280).

Minor morphemes occurring both before and after the stem are allotted to the highest of the alternative possible decade classifications.

Morphemes numbered consecutively within the decade indicates mutual substitute ability. A hiatus in the numbering indicates non-substitutability.

More than one member of decades 270, 80 and 70 may occur within the word. In all other cases all members of the same decade class are incompatible.

Class 10

11. faka causative

14. tua ordinal

15. toko human

17. a explicative

19. pee- like.

Nuclear morphemes include three types of reduplications:

R-, -R-, -R.

Class 20

21. ka ~ kaa inceptive

22. e general

23. i past

24. kia desiderative
25. kua perfect
26. kei caveat
27. me prescriptive
29. he indefinite article

2 - 27 mark tense or aspect.

Class 30

- | | | |
|----------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| 31.1 au ~ ahau | 31.2 -ku | <u>1st pers. sing.</u> |
| 32.1 koe | 32.2 -u ~ 0 | <u>2nd pers. sing.</u> |
| 33.1 ia | 33.2 -na | <u>3rd pers. sing.</u> |
| 35. -ua | <u>dual</u> | |
| 36. -tou | <u>plural</u> | |
| 38. aua | <u>retrospective</u> | |
| 39. tehi | <u>specific</u> | |

31 - 33 have constant of singular person.

31.1, 32.1, 33.1 have constant of actor - goal.

31.2, 32.2, 33.2 have constant of possession.

35 - 36 have constant of non-singular person.

38 - 39 have constant of definition.

Class 40

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------------|
| 42.1 koor- ~ 42.2 kou- | <u>2nd pers. non-sing.</u> |
| 43. raa- | <u>3rd pers. non-sing.</u> |
| 44. taa- | <u>inclusive non-sing.</u> |

45. maa- exclusive non-sing.

Class 40 has its constant of non-singular actor, goal, possession; members of 40 are obligatorily paired with 35-6.

Class 50

51. a personal.

Class 70

71. a ~ aa dominant possession

72. o ~ oo subordinate possession.

Class 80

81.1 tee ~ te ~ 81.2 t- definite article sing.

82.1 gaa ~ ee 82.2 0 definite article plural have constant of definiteness.

Class 90 +

91. i relational position

92. ki motion to position

93. kei present position

94. hei future position

96. ko emphatic

98. m- future possession

99. n- non-future possession

101. me with, as

105. e vocative

107. e agent

91 - 94 have constant of position.

98 - 99 - have constant of time of possession.

Class 210

211.1 - a ~ 211.2 - ia ~ 211.3 - hia ~ 211.4 - kia ~ 211.5 - mia ~ 211.6 - ŋia ~
211.7 - ria ~ 211.8 - tia ~ 211.9 - fia ~ 211.10 - na ~ 211.11 - ŋa ~ 211.12 - ina

passive suffix

212.1 - na ~ 212.2 - aŋa ~ 212.3 - haŋa ~ 212.4 - kaŋa ~ 212.5 - maŋa ~
212.7 - raŋa ~ 212.8 - taŋa.

Morphemes in noun derivation.

214. maa additive.

Class 220

221. rawa intensity

222. tonu continuity

223. kee otherness

224. noa non-restriction

225. kau exhaustiveness

226. koa emphatic

227. pea perhaps

229. maa additive

Class 220 has constant of qualifications.

Class 230

231. atu away from speaker

232. mai towards speaker

233. ihc downwards

234. ake upwards

236. tia concurrent passive

231 - 234 have constant of direction.

Class 240

241. ana imperfect

242. ai resultative.

Class 250

251. anoo ~ ano again.

Class 260

261. hoki also.

Class 270

271. nei position near speaker

272. naa position near hearer

273. ŋaa distant

Class 270 has constant of position.

Stem Classes.

All morphemes which are not minor morphemes are stems. Stems are classified by the criteria of occurrence or non-occurrence in certain divisive frames. A few stems have unique distributions and are not allotted to classes. e.g.

1. mea generalized object of action overlaps 5 out of 6 stem classes;

2. -ati occurs only bound to 21 ka inceptive as in ka - ati enough.

Six stem classes containing 24 to hundreds of members. Sub classes are based on wider or narrower distribution than their corresponding classes.

N stems occur with class 80, but not class 20. Some N stems occur

with 71 active possession. Other N stems occur with 72 passive possession.

Nx occur with 105

Nz have infix -R-

-R- = vowels of same quality as the final vowel of the first syllable of the stem in order to form the plural.

V stems occur with class 20, but not with class 80. There are no subclasses.

A stems occur with both class 20 and class 80.

Subclass Ax occur with 14.

Subclass Ay has a reduplication of the first two phonemes as an optional plural marker.

Subclass Az has plurality indicated by infixing a vowel of the same quality as the last vowel of the first syllable of the stem.

G stems occur in the frame 20 ... 211. G stems substitute for N, U and A in all frames except those peculiar to Ax, Ay, Az, Nx, Nz. Twelve subclasses are determined according to the alternate of the passive suffix 211 that they select. A syntactic subclass Gk occurs with 92 but not 91.

L stems occur with 61 - 64. No subclasses.

P stems occur with 51.

Stems of unique distribution:

káua negative imperative occurs only in non-final contour words, either alone or in the formula $\pm 20 + \text{káua} \pm 260$.

kiihai past negative occurs only in non-final contour words, either alone or

followed by 251.

táro soon occurs only in the formula $\pm 20 + \text{taro}$ and in fixed expressives.

a- place occurs, always paired with 270.

áati sufficient occurs alone or juxitaposed to 21 only after silence or final juncture.

meá generalized action, object or person fills any frame of class N, V, A, G, P.

Following are listed compatibilities and incompatibilities existing between minor morphemes and stem classes.

11. occurs before stem classes N, V, A, G, L.

14. occurs before subclasses Ax.

15. occurs before subclasses Ax except tahi one and tini many.

17. occurs between two stems of N, G, A, V in the nucleus.

R- = reduplication of the first syllable of a stem morpheme.

With Ay the meaning is plural or intensive.

With G the meaning is completed and maintained action.

-R = reduplication of the whole stem or the last three or four phonemes.

Occurs with ? means frequentative.

-R- = infix vowel of the same quality as the last vowel of the first syllable of the stem.

Occurs only with Nz and Az and means plural.

21 - 27 occur with V, A, G and are incompatible with all higher numbered preposed minor morphemes.

29 occurs with N, A, G and is incompatible with all higher numbered preposed minor morphemes.

Paradigm 30.1 occur in stem position and have combinatorial possibilities of P.

Paradigm 30.2 is obligatorily paired with 70, occurring both in the nuclear slot, as a stem surrogate, and in the periphery sequence with N, A, G.

35 - 36 always occurs with paradigm 40 (q.v).

38 - 39 always occur with 70 and in sequence with N, A, G.

40 is obligatorily paired with 35 - 36 and overlaps distribution of 30.1 and 30.2.

51 occurs with P and must precede P in any sequence not containing 96, 101, 105, 107, 70.

70 occurs with all stem classes either contour initially or following 98, 99 or 80.

80 occurs with N, G, A.

If it occurs twice in the same contour word it is obligatorily paired with 70 in its first occurrence.

91 - 94 occur in sequence with N, V, A, G, L, P.

96 occurs with N, A, G, P, L and is juxtaposed to P and L but precedes 80 with N, G, A.

98 - 99 occur with N, A, G, L, P and with 30.2 and 40 + 35 - 36, when they are in the nucleus slot.

- 101 occurs with N, A, G, P.
- 105 occurs juxtaposed to P and to Nx.
- 107 occurs with N, A, G and juxtaposed to P.
- 210 occurs with and is divisive for G stems.
- 212 occurs with G, A, V and the resulting form is N.
- 221 - 227 occur with all stem classes.
- 229 in the periphery with P and Nx and in the nuclear slot between 2A stems or between 2N stems.
- 231 - 234 occurs with G, V, A, L, N.
- 236 occurs obligatorily with A stems which are in the same complex nucleus, with a G stem followed by 211 and also with 221 - 227 following 211.
- 240 occurs with A, G, V.
- 251 occurs with all stem classes.
- 261 occurs with all stem classes.
- 270 occurs with all stem classes.

The following formulas give all possible combinations of minor morphemes with the class N stems but no account is taken of restrictions.

A maximum of five peripheral morphemes follow. The total length of the contour word is also relevant so that a word containing several preposed minor morphemes is unlikely to contain more than one or two in the postposed periphery.

(a) $\pm (105 - 107)$ or $\pm 91 - 6$ or $(\pm 98 - 9 + 70)$ or
 $(\pm 80 + 70) + 80 \pm 70 \pm (*p \text{ or } 38 - 9) \pm 270 + N$

$\pm 220 \pm 230 \pm 250 \pm 260 \pm 270 \pm 270.$

*p = any member of 30.2 or 40 + 35 - 36.

(b) $\pm 96 + 29 + N \pm 220 \pm 250 \pm 260.$

(c) $+ 94 + N.$

Contour words with V class nuclei.

$\pm 20 + V \pm 220 \pm 230 \pm 240 \text{ or } 260 \pm 250 \pm 270 \pm 270.$

Contour words with A class nuclei.

(a) $\pm (105 \text{ or } 107) \text{ or } \pm 91 - 6 \text{ or } (\pm 98 - 9 + 70)$

$+ 80 \pm 70 \pm (P \text{ or } 38 - 9) + A \pm 220 \pm 250 \pm 260.$

(b) $\pm 96 + 29 + A \pm 220 \pm 250 \pm 260.$

(c) $94 + A.$

(d) $\pm 20 + A \pm 220 \pm 230 \pm 240 \text{ or } 260 \pm 250 \pm 270 \pm 270.$

Contour words with G class nuclei.

(a) $\pm (101 - 7) \text{ or } (\pm 98 - 9 + 70) \text{ or } (\pm 80 + 70)$

$+ 80 \pm (70 \pm P) \text{ or } (38 - 9) \pm 270 + G$

$\pm 220 \pm 230 \pm 250 \pm 260 \pm 270 \pm 270.$

(b) $\pm 95 - 6 + 29 + G \pm 220 \pm 250 \pm 260.$

(c) $94 + N.$

(d) $\pm 21 - 7 + G \pm 211 \pm 220 \pm 230 \pm 240 \pm 260 \pm 270.$

Contour words with L class nuclei.

$\pm 90 \pm 80 \pm 70 + L \pm 220 \pm 230 \pm 240 \pm 250 \pm 260 \pm 270$

Minor morphemes within nuclei.

14 and 15 are divisive for Ax.

211 is divisive for G.

11 with N, V, A forms B and with L, forms A

212 with V, A, and G, forms N.

Complex nuclei.

Nuclei containing two stems

the equivalence between two-stem nuclei and single stem nuclei are the following:

$G + G, G + N, A + A, A + G = A$

$N + N, N + G, N + A, A + N = N$

$G + A = G$

$V + A = V$

$L + N, L + A = L$

Instances of more than two-stem nuclei are classified as N. Examples

are:

$A + N + A, A + A + L, A + G + N, A + A + N,$

$G + G + A, G + L + A, G + A + N, G + G + N,$

$G + A + A, G + N + N, G + N + A, N + G + N,$

$N + G + A, N + N + A, N + G + G, N + N + N,$

$L + A + G, G + N + A + A, G + A + A + G,$

$N + N + G + N, N + G + A + G, N + G + N + A,$

$N + A + N + N, A + N + N + N + A.$

The example given for the last formula is:

he úru fira tánifa móana nŭi

a point of a fin of a monster of the great ocean.

Minor morphemes as stem surrogates,

30.1 alternates of 30 fill the nucleus slot as P class nuclei.

30.2 alternates of 30 fill the nucleus slot, compulsorily paired with 70 in the peripheral slot, as P class nuclei.

Decade 40 obligatorily paired with 35 - 36 fill the nucleus slot as class P nuclei.

TONGAN

2.6. In giving the sound contrasts of Tongan, Indo-Pacific Fascicle Two (2.2), the source followed was Morton (in press) who based his information on the speech of informants living on the island of Tongatapu, who speak essentially the same dialect of Tongan as is spoken in Ha'apai and Vava'u. In this dialect there are a few differences in selection of words and some intonational differences, according to the island that the speaker was brought up on.

There is in addition one separate dialect (Niua Fo'ou), the Tongan dialect spoken on Tin Can Island, the northernmost of the Friendly Islands, near Samoa. It is from this island that the speakers were removed in 1946, because of imminent danger from volcanic eruption, and resulted in the relocation of most speakers in Tongatapu, and some in Eua, where they will be exposed to dialect leveling.

Morton (op.cit.) gives an unusually good account of how sounds combined (interphonemic specification):

"Each vowel and consonant may occur before or after each other vowel or consonant. All possible combinations are found although some combinations appear much more frequently than others. However, if restricted to position, some combinations appear only infrequently. For example, si in initial position is found only in a few forms, and nu in final position is rare. However, since -si is a suffix forming transitive verbs, the combination si appears very frequently in final position, contrasting with its comparatively rare use in initial position.

... Identical vowel clusters are analyzed as two syllables, three syllables, or four syllables; thus, hoo to breathe, fakaaakena to be in style, stylishly, and oooo to go, non-plural, iterative. Three-syllable identical

clusters occur only when an affix, beginning or ending with a certain vowel, is affixed to an identical disyllabic cluster of the same vowel, as above, where the causative verb prefix *faka-* precedes the form *aakena* style, mode.

... The largest identical vowel clusters found are four-syllable clusters. All examples found consist of the phonemes / u / and / o /; neither front vowels nor the low vowel / a / enter into four-syllable identical clusters. Some examples of four-syllable clusters are *uuuu* to be well sheltered, iterative, *uuuunaki* to be sheltered from the wind, iterative, and *uuuunekina* to be sheltered or protected, iterative.

... Identical VV clusters occur quite frequently in Tongan. The largest number of such identical VV clusters found in one word is three, as in *maalooloo* to rest, *paapaakuu* to be unwilling, unwilling, *fakapaapaakuu* half-heartedly, *maaluuloo* to be moist and soft, *maaluuluunia* to be moistened, *fakateeteelousii* to float or swim on the back, and *piinoonoo* bogey or demon. Disyllabic identical vowel clusters are found quite frequently in words, as the following examples illustrate: *fakateete* to sail, transitive, *fakatoofaa* to put to bed (honorific), *taataa* to beat or strike, iterative, *kaakaa* to be deceitful, *soosoo* to be crowded, iterative, *tootoo* to fall, iterative, and *kookoo* to squawk.

... Non-identical vowel clusters, or clusters composed of non-identical as well as identical vowels, range from disyllabic VV clusters to seven-syllable clusters. No clusters larger than seven vowels have been found in the present study. Disyllabic VV and trisyllabic VVV clusters are very common in Tongan. All possible combinations of vowels occur in disyllabic clusters, as in *faa* four, *fee* which, interrogative, *fii* to plait or braid, *foo* to wash, laundry, *fuu* to clap the hands in a kava ceremony, *kae* but, *kai* to eat, *kao*

name of a volcano, kau to belong, to pertain, lea to speak, mei from, feo coral,
keu that I may, ia him, her, it, fie to want, ?io yes, mou you, plural, ua two,
ue?i to cause to move, to move, ui to call, and kuo perfect or inceptive aspect.
Disyllabic vowel clusters occur initially, as in uaneau two hundred; medially,
as in feira to try, to attempt; and finally, as in fai to do and kapau if.
Trisyllabic VVV clusters are quite common, but not as common as disyllabic VV
clusters. Trisyllabic clusters occur initially, medially, and finally, as in
nautoo (of sun or moon) to be about to set, feoo?aki to go in opposite direc-
tions (reciprocative), and raue to move. Trisyllabic vowel clusters appear
most frequently in medial and final position, and only occasionally in initial
position. A few forms are found consisting of only a trisyllabic vowel cluster,
as uii an expression of disgust and uoo to be crowded. Four-syllable or tetra-
syllabic vowel clusters are not frequently found. Those that do occur are
found as single words as well as in sets of initial, medial, and final syllables.
Compare the following examples of identical vowel clusters: oooo to go (plural,
iterative), uuuu to be sheltered, iterative, together with examples of non-
identical tetrasyllabic clusters: aoao to bind round and round, ouau rite,
ordinance, uuuurekina to be sheltered, auaumi to consist of several folds
(iterative), raue?i to utilize, looua double, two-fold, and looio to divide
fish along the grain with the fingers. Four-syllable clusters occur more
frequently medially than in any other position. Five-syllable vowel clusters
occur word-medially and word-finally but not word-initially, except when the
whole word is made up of the five vowels. The following are examples: (of
whole word) iauee an expression of surprise; (of word-medial cluster) fakaoao?i
to treat despotically or tyrannically; and (of word-final cluster) fakaoao to
act like a despot. Five-syllable clusters occur more frequently in word-final

than in word-medial, and rarely as whole words. Six-syllable clusters occur word-finally in medially but not initially, except when the whole word is made up of six vowels. Compare the following examples: uouuoo to be crowded, iterative, feooooaki to go back and forth, reciprocative, plural, and ?oiausee alas, to exclaim in dismay. Six-syllable vowel clusters in medial position and single words composed of six syllables are very rare. Six-syllable clusters in final position are also rare but are found more frequently than in any other position. One seven-syllable vowel cluster has been encountered in the present study: ?ioiaae everybody heave or push, all together now, heave or push. It is possible, however, that other non-encountered forms exist in the language with seven-syllable clusters.

... The canonical shape of words appearing between successive occurrences of plus juncture /+/, or between plus juncture and a major juncture, vary from monosyllabic words of the shape CV or disyllabic VV clusters to long words of as many as 16 syllables: au I, me, mo and, and paauetootooivimaalohi?aki to use zealously and industriously, the latter example consisting of nine consonants and 16 vowels. The largest number of consecutive CV syllables strung together successively in a word is 12, as in fefakavaha?apule?ana?aki to vie with each other as nations, reciprocative. Numerous eight, ten, and twelve syllable forms consisting entirely of CV syllables are formed by reduplication of a CVCV stem either with or without the affixation of a CV prefix or CVCV suffix. Numerous stems and affixes are of this pattern. No forms have been found in the present study with more than 12 consonants or 16 vowels as in the forms which have just been cited. Between the extremes of monosyllabic CV words and sixteen-syllable words, a wide variety of vowel and CV combinations occur, but it seems trivial to list all the combinations found."

Our sample of Tongan sentences is excerpted from Morton (op. cit.), but the sentence profile arrangement of these sentences is a continuation of profile arrangements encountered in preceding sentence samples from Eastern Polynesia (2.3, 2.4, and 2.5, above). Here for a Western Polynesian language (Tongan) we encounter for the first time an embedded subject verb phrase—[ES—V phrase]. The criterion for such an [ES—V phrase] is that it begins with a minor morpheme (m) which functions as a phrase introducer, and that it includes between this m and the phrase nucleus major morpheme (M), a morpheme marking 1st, 2nd, or 3rd person subject. The kind of [S phrase] already encountered in Eastern Polynesia also occurs in Tongan, and some profiles in Tongan include both [ES—V phrase] and [S phrase].

When a morpheme is of a shape that will be uttered in isolation by Tongan speakers (e.g. students at the Church College of Hawaii) and glossed by them, as /ne/ he, she, or it (3rd person), we separate the morpheme by space—i.e. treat it as a 'word' in the following sentences—even if our source (Morton) or the century-old spelling orthography is inclined to treat the same morpheme as a non-isolable part of a word (affix).

Sentences (1) to (6) which follow show a profile in which the only phrase is [ES—V phrase].

(1) I go.

?oku ou ?ālu

[present I go]

(2) He will go.

te ne ?ālu

[future he go]

(3) He has come.

kuo ne haʔu

[pf. he come]

(4) We (dual, exclusive) will go.

te ma ʔālu

[future we go]

(5) He is eating yam.

ʔoku ne kaiufi

[present he yam-eat]

(6) I will go.

teu ʔālu

[m-M I'll go]

The components for what is glossed m-M are /te/ future and /u/ one of the variant forms for 1st person.

In the next sentence [ES—V phrase] is followed by [V phrase] without embedded subject; the phrase introducers are minor morphemes (m): glossed future in the first, and glossed and in the second phrase.

(7) He will go and sleep.

te ne ʔālu ʔo mohe

[future he go] [and sleep]

The phrase interiors of the profile [ES—V] of sentences (8) and (9) each include parentheses to show modified-modifier order.

(8) Why did he go?

naʔa ne ʔālu kceʔumaʔaa

[past he (go why)]

Perhaps in the literal sense of He why-went?

(9) When will you go?

te ke ʔālu fakakuu

[future you (go when)]

Perhaps in the literal sense of You'll when-go?

Sentences (10) to (13), inclusive, all include [ES—V phrase] which is followed or preceded by other phrases.

(10) He baked some bread.

naʔa ne taʔo ha maa
[past he bake] [some bread]

In this profile, [ES—V phrase] [O phrase], each phrase begins with a phrase introducer.

(11) Don't you take it.

ʔoua te ke ʔave ia
[don't] [future you take] [it]

The profile here is [Neg. phrase] [ES—V phrase] [O phrase].

(12) I arrived home at seven.

naʔa ku aʔu atu ki ʔapi ʔihe taimi fitu
[past-time I go from-here] [to home] [at the (time seven)]

All three phrases in this profile, [ES—V phrase] [L phrase] [L phrase], begin with phrase introducer minor morpheme which distinguishes [L phrase] locating place from [L phrase] locating time. In the latter, the parentheses point to modified-modifier order.

(13) He will cut it off with a saw.

te ne tuʔusi ia ʔaki ʔae kilī
[future he cut] [it] [with a saw]

This profile shows [ES—V phrase] [O phrase] [Inst. phrase].

Sentences (14) to (18) show a single [V phrase] without embedded subject, or a succession of two [V phrase]'s, with the second beginning with a phrase introducer.

(14) Stop!

ʔuʔu

[stop]

(15) Come!

haʔu

[come]

(16) Go away!

ʔālu atu

[go away]

(17) Come and eat!

haʔu ʔo kai

[come] [and eat]

(18) Run fast!

lele ʔo vave

[run] [and fast]

Sentences (19) to (22) show profile [V phrase] [S phrase] in contrast to subject embedded verb phrase, above.

(19) He went.

naʔe ʔālu ia

[past go] [he]

Here the [S phrase] follows the [V phrase].

(20) The box is heavy.

oku mamafa ʔae puha

[present heavy] [the box]

(21) John and Peter will do so.

ʔe fai ʔe pita me sione

[future do] [m Peter and John]

(22) The bread was baked.

naʔe taʔo ʔae maa

[past bake] [the bread]Perhaps more literally, The bread baked.

Sentences (23) to (26) specify comment--[C phrase]--without following topic.

(23) It is Peter.

ko pita

[m Peter](24) It is a boy.

koe tamasiʔi

[m boy](25) This is the one.

ko ʔeni

[m this](26) It is a very beautiful house.

koe fale fakaʔofoʔofa ʔaupito

[in the (house beautiful very)]
m-m M M M

The parentheses here point to the modified-modifier-modifier order.

Sentences (27) to (29) show profile [C phrase] [T phrase]. The second or Topic phrase begins with a phrase introducer unless the anaphoric 1st, 2nd, or 3rd person morphemes constitute the [T phrase].

(27) He is a good schoolteacher.

koe faiko lelei ia

[m-a (teacher good)] [he]

(28) John is a smart boy.

koe tamasi'i poto ?a sione
[m-a (boy smart)] [the John]

(29) My mother is a good woman.

koe fefine a'alelei ?eku fa'ee
[m-a (woman good)] [my mother]

For the remaining sentences in the Tongan sample, the final note on reordering is applicable, in various ways, as yet to be determined for all.

(30) It was baked by John.

koe ta'o ?e sione
[m-the bake] [by John]

(31) John has a horse.

?oku iai ?ae hoosi ?a sione
[present have] [m-a horse] [the John]

(32) He is a boy from Tonga.

koe tamasi'i ia mei tora
[m-a boy] [he] [from Tonga]

(33) When will you go to town?

te ke ?alu fakakuu ki kolo
[future you (go when)] [to town]

(34a) Give it to John.

?ave ia ma'a sione
[give] [it] [to John]

(34b) Take it to that boy.

?ave ia kihe tamasi'i ko'ena
[take] [it] [to the (boy that)]

(35) He came from town.

na'e ha'u ia mei kolo
[past come] [he] [from town]

(36) I saw a beautiful island.

neu sio kiha motu faka'ofo'ofa
[past I see] [to a (island beautiful)]

(37) You take your mat and go.

ke ke to'o ho fala 'o 'ālu
[m you take] [your mat] [and go]

Does this reflect Bible translation influence?

(38) Eight pupils cut the lawn.

na'e huo 'ae mala'e 'ehe tamaiki ako 'e teko valu
[past cut] [to the lawn] [by the (children study)] [by eight]

(39) Both will go.

te na 'ālu
[future they go]

(40) He really doesn't know.

koloto ke ne 'ilo
[neg. intense] [m he know]

(41) He worked without any pay.

na'a ne naue ta'e ha totori
[past he work] [without some pay]

(42) He did it even though it was different.

na'a ne fai ia neop na'e fairata'a
[past he do] [it] [although past difficult]

(43) Hurry up or you'll be late.

(52) She failed in the examinations because of carelessness.

na?a ne too ?i he sivi ko ?ene ta?etokana
 [past she fail] [in the exams] [m her inattention]

(53) All people know this object.

?oku ?ilo ?ae me?ani ?ehe kakai kotoapee
 [present know]_a [to the thing]_b [by the people]_c [all indeed]_d

How Tongan phrases in this sentence may be reordered, without changing the message of the sentence (non-contrastive syntax) is shown here by simply reordering the square brackets from a b c d, as is shown in the order above, to a b d c.

The following give an inventory of Tongan morphology with numbers and glosses as given by Morton (in press):

10. Person with verbs, pronouns, marked by suffixes:

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 11. -ku~-ou~-u~-au | 1st exclusive singular, <u>I</u> |
| 12. -te~-to~-ta | 1st inclusive singular, <u>I, one</u> |
| 13. -ke~-?o~-oe~-u | 2nd singular, <u>you</u> |
| 14. -ne~-no~-na~-a | 3rd singular, <u>he, she, it</u> |
| 15. -ma | 1st non-singular exclusive, <u>we</u> |
| 16. -ta | 1st non-singular inclusive, <u>we</u> |
| 17. -mo | 2nd non-singular, <u>you</u> |
| 18. -na | 3rd non-singular, <u>they</u> |

20. Prefixes indicated by - (dash) with pronominal roots or free forms:

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| 21. he~e~ho~o~ø | definite article, non-emphatic |
| 22. ha~a | indefinite article |
| 23. ?a ~ ?e ~ ?o ~ ò ~ à | actor oriented non-terminative aspect. |
| | possessive, of |

24. ?o~ o ~?a~ à goal oriented terminative aspect
possessive, of
25. si?i ~ si- diminutive
26. ma-~ mo- dative, to, for
27. ha-~ ho- pronominal prefix
28. ?a-~?o-~zero adjectival verb prefix
30. Suffixes with pronominal roots:
31. -ua ~ zero dual
32. -tolu ~-u plural
-

33. -?i~-ki~-fi~-si~-ni genitive; also with nouns, being placed
between the possessed (first) and the possessor (last).

E.g. of cooccurrences: Stem + 10 + 30.

Derivational Suffixes: 50-70

51. -p
52. -k
53. -f
54. -s~-t
55. -h
56. -l
57. -m
58. -n
59. -ŋ
60. -v
61. -ø
71. -? emphatic (may occur after 50 or 60)

Verbal suffixes (follow 50-70): 80-90

- | | | |
|-----|-------------|--|
| 81. | -i | transitivizer |
| 82. | -aki ~ -eki | transitivizing instrumentive |
| 83. | -fia | to consider as being, to regard as |
| 91. | -ana | cause, reason, place of doing, noun forming |
| 92. | -ona ~ -a | goal oriented terminative aspect, emphatic |
| 93. | -o | actor oriented non-terminative aspect,
emphatic, active |

Numerals (some free, some affixes, as indicated):

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 201. | taha ~ ho- ~ te- | one |
| 202. | ua ~ uo- | two |
| 203. | tolu | three |
| 204. | faa | four |
| 205. | nima | five |
| 206. | ono | six |
| 207. | fitu | seven |
| 208. | valu | eight |
| 209. | hiva | nine |
| 210. | fiha | how many, indefinite number |
| 211. | -ja ~ -je ~ -jo ~ -o ~ o | numeral stem formative |
| 212. | -fulu | ten or a decade |
| 213. | -kau | 20 (coconuts) |
| 214. | -kumi | 10 (fathoms or spans) |
| 215. | -fuhi | 200 (yams) |
| 216. | -fua | 200 (coconuts) |
| 217. | -au | 100 |

218. -tula	10 pairs (of thatch)
219. afe	1000
220. mano	10 thousand
e.g. /taha noa fitu/	one-zero-seven: <u>107</u> (literally)

221. kilu	100 thousand
222. miliona	million
223. noa	zero

Operators

(1) Vowel Doubling: derivational (non-transformative).

(2) Reduplication:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| (a) iterative or continuative | e.g. /-lu/ <u>to shake</u> |
| (b) dual or plural | /lulu/ <u>to shake or quiver</u> |
| (c) diminutive | /lulululu/ <u>to shake (iterative)</u> |
| (d) intensive | |

SAMOAN

2.7 The coexistent sound systems in Samoa — one for casual, the other for non-casual utterances — have been discussed (2.2, above). One might in this context also discuss the Samoan vocabulary of respect which has been described by G. B. Milner, in the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute 92.296-317 (1961). Almost five hundred terms are characterized in terms of referring to or addressing:

- 1) people of rank, when one wishes to be polite — and this is the largest category;
- 2) royalty and high chiefs but not chiefs of lower rank;
- 3) chiefs (ali'i) but not orators;
- 4) orators (tulāfale) but not chiefs;
- 5) the speaker himself — and this is a category of humility or even self-abasement.

Samoan may be compared with Javanese. Structural differences are significant, and no etymological connection exists between the two. But much the same frequency is found in various domains (semantic fields) that are represented in the Samoan respect vocabulary, and the Javanese krama inggil.

It would be misleading to give a short sample of oratorical Samoan, in which some of the vocabulary of respect is couched, and then compare this with a sample of sentences spoken in casual Samoan. To do this would be to exaggerate the difference between the two. Non-casual utterances in Samoan

characteristically include a half dozen phrases in one sentence, and such utterances should be compared, to begin with, to non-casual utterances in Hawaiian and Maori and other Eastern Polynesian languages rather to casual utterances in Samoan. The latter appear to be segmented into sentences of perhaps three phrases on the average, but we do not have an adequate sample of Samoan sentence that permits us to give more than such general impressions. Adequate information on the length of Maori sentences used in conversations permits us to say that some 70 percent of them are two phrases long — and reflect one or another of two favorite sentence profiles described above (2.5).

The following information on Samoan is derived from Pawley (in press, AL).

Samoan is the native language of over 100,000 inhabitants of Samoa Islands plus several thousand Samoan migrants to New Zealand and Hawaii (Meinecke says circa of 2000 in Hawaii); Samoan is also widely spoken as second language in Ellice and Tokelau Islands.

Comparatively few dialect differences have been found between Eastern and Western Samoan, but Western has clearly distinguished stylistic variants — formal (spoken on formal occasions, in ceremonies, in the pulpit, when speaking to Europeans and sometimes in formal conversations between Samoans) and colloquial (spoken in all other situations) — these differ in vocabulary, and, to a lesser extent, in grammar, but are most clearly expressed in a coexistent sound system (2.2, above).

Emphatic stress is not predictable, but frequently occurs on the penultimate syllable before a non-final or final juncture — occurs with greater

frequency in slow, careful speech than in rapid conversational speech. It occurs only on syllables which would otherwise have moderate stress, never on potentially unstressed syllables. Moderate stress is predictable, occurring 'in most cases' on the second syllable before open transition, non-final or final juncture (J) and on each alternate preceding V. The third syllable before J is heard in all but the slowest speech as the most prominently stressed syllable. The second V if unstressed is heard almost as loud as stressed V preceding it.

In conversational speech phrases have an average length of about 3 morphemes and rarely exceed 7 or 8. In formal Samoan the average phrase length is about 4 morphemes and unelicited phrases of 12 and 13 morphemes occur. In colloquial D usually consists of a single morpheme, sometimes 2, but rarely more than 2 fill slot D:

A	D	N
le	nei	mea
<u>the</u>	<u>here</u>	<u>thing</u> for <u>this</u> <u>thing</u>

whereas in formal speech 2 or 3 or even 4 morphemes fill slot D:

A	D				N
le	isi	foʔi	lava	laa	mea
<u>the</u>	<u>other</u>	<u>additional</u>	<u>particular</u>	<u>yonder</u>	<u>thing</u> for <u>the other</u> <u>particular thing</u>

Three hyperclasses of morphemes are major, minor and interjections.

Major morphemes (also called bases) are so defined that any one can fill nucleus slots of a phrase and no minor but most major can stand alone as a

complete phrase. No minor but most major morphemes can be reduplicated within the phrase to concord with plural subject or to mark plural event. All major but few minor morphemes occur in nucleus slot (as opposed to peripheral slots) in the phrase.

All major morphemes have at least one allomorph of two or more syllables; minor morphemes (with the single exception of naai diminutive article pl.) never exceed two syllables and may be only one syllable or only a single consonant (or zero).

Minor morphemes have greater text frequency than major morphemes, and "minor morphemes have grammatical meaning, major in most cases carry lexical meaning."

Minor morphemes are listable (about 100) and major are not. Minor morphemes are divisible into distributional classes, each of which has a closed membership of fewer than twenty morphemes. Major morphemes are divisible into a small number of distributional classes, with open memberships, ranging in size from ten to several thousand morphemes. In Samonan, as in other Polynesian languages, the class of major morphemes is hospitable to borrowing; that of minor morphemes is not. Hence, as already mentioned, it is possible to give the number of morphemes in a minor morpheme list. But the dictionary -- taken as a sort of list of major morphemes -- cannot be considered closed or listed in the same way, since with each new borrowing the size of the major morpheme list changes.

The Following Abbreviations Will Be Used

AA	. . . .	American Anthropologist
ACLS	. . . .	American Council of Learned Societies
AES-P	. . . .	American Ethnological Society, Publication
AL	. . . .	Anthropological Linguistics
APS-P	. . . .	American Philosophical Society, Proceedings
APS-T	. . . .	American Philosophical Society, Transactions
BAE-B	. . . .	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin
BAE-R	. . . .	Bureau of American Ethnology, Report
CU	. . . .	Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology
IJAL	. . . .	International Journal of American Linguistics
IUPAL	. . . .	Indiana University Publications in Anthropology and Linguistics
JAF	. . . .	Journal of American Folklore
JSAP	. . . .	Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris
Lg	. . . .	Language
RCPAFL	. . . .	Research Center Publications in Anthropology, Folklore and Linguistics
SJA	. . . .	Southwestern Journal of Anthropology
SIL	. . . .	Studies in Linguistics
TCLP	. . . .	Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague
UMPL	. . . .	University of Michigan Publications, Linguistics
UCPAAE	. . . .	University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology
UCPL	. . . .	University of California Publications in Linguistics
VFPA	Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology
WDWLS	William Dwight Whitney Linguistic Series

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